

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

Edited by H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

GUSTAV GRUENBAUM

WILLIAM KURRELMeyer

JOSÉ ROBLES

RAYMOND D. HAVENS

KEMP MALONE

HAZELTON SPENCER

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EDITED BY

H. Carrington Lancaster, Gustav Gruenbaum, W. Kurrelmeyer,
Raymond D. Havens, Kemp Malone, H. Spencer, and J. Robles

ADVISORY EDITORS

G. Chinard, E. Feise, J. C. French, R. B. Roulston, L. P. Shanks

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CARDINAL NEWMAN

AND

WILLIAM FROUDE, F.R.S.

A Correspondence

By GORDON HUNTINGTON HARPER

For nearly fifty years John Henry Newman and his intimate friend, William Froude, a distinguished scientist of the nineteenth century, discussed by correspondence the grounds for religious belief. Newman continually presented for Froude's penetrating but kindly criticism considerations which he hoped might be wrought into a conclusive argument for belief in the Roman Catholic Church, and Froude in return pointed out what he considered to be the scientific objections to them.

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THE DATE OF KEATS'S *FALL OF HYPERION*

Miss Lowell's theory that *The Fall of Hyperion* was Keats's first version was made out of whole cloth, and was, for most people, thoroughly demolished by Mr. De Selincourt and Mr. Middleton Murry. Since that time, however, the theory has received support from a Keats scholar, Professor Claude Finney, and it is on his more lucid exposition that I wish to comment.¹ Taking Wordsworth and Milton as representing the two poles in Keats's view of poetry, Mr. Finney traces through Keats's letters his varying reactions to these two poets. The bulk of the article is a valuable and illuminating study of Keats's intellectual and spiritual background, but when Mr. Finney uses his conclusions to support Miss Lowell, he seems to me to build a case on very shaky foundations. This is Mr. Finney's summary of his opinions, in part:

The letters which he wrote during the next four months [after April, 1818] are filled with his enthusiasm for Wordsworth's humanitarianism. In this period he made an intuition of "Hyperion" as a vision in which he would express the ideals of humanitarianism. After he returned from his Scotch excursion, 18 August, he composed an introduction for this projected humanitarian version of "Hyperion," but abandoned the undertaking before he began to compose the body of the poem. This humanitarian introduction is preserved as the introduction to *The Fall of Hyperion*, the body of which, however, is a revised portion of a later and Miltonic version. . . . In *Hyperion*, which he composed in imitation of the style of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Keats expressed the neo-Platonic philosophy of beauty. Dissatisfied with the style of Milton, he made a futile attempt in August and September, 1819, to fuse the Wordsworthian and Miltonic versions into a third version, *The Fall of Hyperion*; but he failed, because he no longer believed in humanitarianism, and because he could not remove the style of Milton without destroying the beauty of the verse.

In this reconstruction Mr. Finney does not distinguish between known fact and pure conjecture, and the proportion of known fact

¹ "The Fall of Hyperion," *JEGP*, xxvi (1927), 304 ff.

is very small. In the absence of external evidence on his side, Mr. Finney relies on the internal evidence of the letters to indicate the ebb and flow of Keats's enthusiasm for Wordsworth, and hence, by a rather daring leap, to think that the introduction to the *Fall* must have been written at a time when the letters show that the tide was at the full, the particular season chosen being August and September, 1818.

However rich the letters are, they do not contain all of Keats's ideas about his reading or his own work. (How much of Mr. Finney's suggestive interpretation of *Endymion*, for instance, receives definite confirmation from the letters?) The letters of the four months following April, 1818, Mr. Finney says, are filled with Keats's enthusiasm for Wordsworth's humanitarianism. Let us see what the letters of this period contain in the way of references to Wordsworth. Early in April Keats says Wordsworth has gone rather huffed out of town: "he cannot expect his fireside Divan to be infallible—he cannot expect but that every man of worth is as proud as himself . . ." (I, 140).² A few weeks later he thinks he begins to understand "the Burden of the Mystery" (I, 152). In the same letter he compares Wordsworth and Milton at some length in regard to their knowledge of the human heart and their anxiety for humanity, and ascribes the apparent superiority of Wordsworth less to individual power than to the general advance of mankind (see below). In June Keats laments the defection of a lost leader, "Lord Wordsworth," who has been canvassing for the Lowthers (I, 168). He calls on Wordsworth but does not find him at home (I, 169, 171, 175). He quotes twice from an insignificant poem of Wordsworth's (I, 172, 177). In July he writes some doggerel verses in which he takes a fling at Wordsworth's political activities (I, 203). In such a list of allusions I fail to discern signs of a marked and definite conversion to Wordsworthian humanitarianism. As for evidence of Keats's humanitarian sentiments apart from any Wordsworthian reference, that occurs anywhere in the letters of any period; Keats's resolutions to study, to get knowledge, for example, are no more Wordsworthian than Miltonic (see the quotation below, from the poem on Milton). These allusions to Wordsworth, then, show

² References are to the Maurice Buxton Forman edition of Keats's *Letters* (London: Oxford University Press, 1931).

the same mixture of attraction and repulsion that one finds in Keats at all times, but they seem to Mr. Finney to prove a special enthusiasm; "he accepted Wordsworth's humanitarianism in April, 1818." Mr. Finney has rather a tendency to see Keats accepting and rejecting various "isms" as one tries on coats. If such remarks in the letters are sufficient to prove that Keats wrote the Wordsworthian introduction to the *Fall* in August and September, 1818, one could easily assemble quite as good evidence for several other periods.

For, as Mr. Finney's article makes clear, though he does not seem to be aware that the fact damages his method of argument, the letters everywhere record fluctuating moods, which are sometimes ripples on the surface, sometimes not. To mention one illustration of this, Keats's mature life and work reveals, at the very centre of it, a perpetual conflict between "sensation" and knowledge; it is really his major theme. But his attitudes can shift with surprising suddenness. Thus in a letter of January 23, 1818 (I, 92), he encloses his poem on Milton, in which he longs to "grow high-rife With Old Philosophy." A month later (I, 113), in his poem on the thrush, sent to Reynolds, he says:

O fret not after knowledge—I have none,
And yet my song comes native with the warmth.

Two days later (I, 115) he writes to his brothers: "I am reading Voltaire and Gibbon, although I wrote to Reynolds the other day to prove reading of no use." How then can these letters be used with the precision of mathematical formulae to calculate a planet into existence?

Mr. Finney says (p. 319): "After October, 1818, Keats never revealed in his letters a serious interest in Wordsworth's humanitarianism." "Serious" of course may be variously interpreted, but a consecutive reading of the letters does not, I think, show such a clear-cut abandonment of Wordsworth—and we may remember that Keats had kicked out against Wordsworth a number of times before. In March, 1819 (II, 335), in a passage damning Hunt and others, Keats records only two literary admirations, Hazlitt and "half of Wordsworth." A few days later he writes at length about human disinterestedness, and says (II, 341):

But then, as Wordsworth says, "we have all one human heart"—there

is an electric fire in human nature tending to purify—so that among these human creature[s] there is continually some birth of new heroism.>

As a friend of Reynolds and admirer of Wordsworth, Keats is embarrassed in reviewing the skit on *Peter Bell* (April, 1819), but he goes out of his way to remark that the parodist "has felt the finer parts of Mr. Wordsworth, and perhaps expatiated with his more remote and sublimer muse. . . . The more he may love the sad embroidery of the *Excursion*; the more he will hate the coarse Samplers of Betty Foy and Alice Fell . . ." (II, 355). <In May (II, 373) Keats quotes

Nothing can bring back the hour
Of splendour in the grass and glory in the flower,

and says: "I once thought this a Melancholist's dream"; in other words, the lines now express his own maturest and deepest feelings. Such references do not suggest that Keats's Wordsworthianism was dead.

In relating the *Fall* to Wordsworth and *Hyperion* to Milton, Mr. Finney appears to make a too decisive dichotomy. The *Fall* of course is quite Miltonic, and, though this is perhaps less obvious, the core of *Hyperion*, which is in the speeches of Coelus and Oceanus, is extremely Wordsworthian. The essence of the speech of Oceanus is summed up in an important passage of the letters (I, 157), which Mr. Finney cites. Milton, Keats says, did not think into the human heart as Wordsworth has done, yet Milton as a philosopher "had sure as great powers as Wordsworth."

What is then to be inferr'd? O many things. It proves there is really a grand march of intellect, It proves that a mighty providence subdues the mightiest Minds to the service of the time being, whether it be in human Knowledge or Religion.

If I possessed Mr. Notcutt's imagination, I would suggest on the basis of this passage that the Titans represent Milton and Apollo Wordsworth. As it is, I will merely quote a bit of the *Excursion* (v. 465 ff.):

Is Man
A child of hope? Do generations press
On generations, without progress made?

"So," says Oceanus, "on our heels a fresh perfection treads."

Besides, Milton is for Keats a humanitarian as well as other

things. "He was moreover an active friend to Man all his Life and has been since his death" (I, 132). In October, 1818, Keats writes: "We have no Milton, no Algernon Sidney" (I, 254; and see 255). In August, 1819, we have such mixtures of ideas as appear in these familiar extracts. "Shakspeare," he says, "and the paradise Lost every day become greater wonders to me. I look upon fine Phrases like a Lover" (II, 400). Here he seems to be thinking of Milton as an artist, a stylist. But then: "I am convinced more and more day by day that fine writing is, next to fine doing the top thing in the world; the Paradise Lost becomes a greater wonder" (II, 406). "Next to fine doing!" The letters, as I said, are full of more or less contradictory and spontaneous utterances that testify to the inward conflict. By an arbitrary use of such utterances, and disregard of known dates, one could rearrange the whole Keats canon.

That the introduction to the *Fall* is somewhat Dantesque, and that Keats had taken Cary with him to Scotland in the summer of 1818, does not mean much. If, following Mr. Finney's method, we use the letters as our guide, we find no evidence that Keats read much Dante in Scotland; he says that he has no books except Cary, but that is almost all. On September 21, a month after his return, he quotes a phrase from the *Inferno* (I, 235). But, whether he read Dante much at this time or not it does not follow that Dante would have soaked in very far, or that such influence would have shown itself immediately. Further, we have evidence of his interest in Dante during the very time—November, 1819—when Keats was engaged, according to Brown, in remodelling *Hyperion*. In *The Indicator* for December 8, 1819, Hunt reported a conversation of "the other day" with "a friend" (whom he later identified as Keats), about the treatment of Ulysses in the *Inferno*.³

Mr. Finney finds inconsistencies in *Hyperion* which, he thinks, result from opposed conceptions of the Titans. Keats's sympathy at first was with the Olympians; then, says Mr. Finney, when he accepted Wordsworth's humanitarianism in April, 1818, he made the Titans, the humanitarian gods, the heroes; and in such a passage as *Hyperion*, i. 106 ff., Mr. Finney sees in Saturn's reference to the loss of "all godlike exercise Of influence benign," a sur-

³ Walter E. Peck, "Keats on Poet-Historians," *Books, New York Herald Tribune*, October 16, 1927.

vival of the humanitarian conception. The lines on the mild and beneficent reign of the Titans are numerous and central (see i. 316-19, 329-31, ii. 208 ff., 335 ff.), and seem to be quite consistent with Keats's conception of his theme and of progress. Keats apparently did not think of the Titans as primitive deities of brute force and tyranny; Oceanus speaks of them as one link, not the first, in the upward succession. The rude and primitive did not appeal to Keats's temperament and he would, having Lear in his mind, present Saturn as a noble ruler, superior to what had gone before. But, and this is the point of the speech of Coelus (i. 309 ff., and cf. ii. 93), these benign, beneficent Titans had, in a crisis, behaved not like gods but like frail mortals; they had been guilty of "fear, hope, and wrath; Actions of rage and passion." They had reverted to type, and now, in defeat, some of them appealed to force. Their weakness, says Coelus, is the sign of ruin; it is, says Keats, a reason for their being superseded. Hence the larger vision and wisdom of Oceanus:

O folly! for to bear all naked truths,
And to envisage circumstance, all calm,
That is the top of sovereignty.

And that is the constant burden of the *Excursion*, though Wordsworth's exposition has a frequent Christian coloring that does not appear in Keats. But throughout the *Excursion* Wordsworth expounds the discipline that ensures stability, and strives to achieve the peace that subsists at the heart of endless agitation.

Finally, in the introduction to the *Fall*—which also echoes the *Excursion*—Keats cries out against the tribe of poet dreamers to which he thinks he belongs. If he wrote this introduction in the early autumn of 1818, what writings of his own was he so bitterly condemning? Not, certainly, the juvenilia, sonnets, and many unimportant occasional pieces. Not *Endymion*, for the central parable of the third and fourth books is Keats's version of Wordsworthian humanitarianism. Not *Sleep and Poetry*, which sets forth the doctrine of *Tintern Abbey*. Was it *Isabella* (the humanitarian stanzas of which led Mr. Shaw to see in Keats a promising Marxist) that alone occasioned Keats's agonized self-flagellation? In short, there does not appear to be any reason for disputing the only dates supported by valid evidence.

DOUGLAS BUSH

University of Minnesota

THE HIGHLAND FEASTS OF FERGUS MacIVOR AND LORD LOVAT

In drawing the character of Fergus MacIvor, a powerful chief who maintains feudal sway over his clan in order to further his personal schemes of ambition through the restoration of the Stuarts, Scott could summon to his aid from the pages of history the actual intrigues and bold venturing of many a Highland leader in the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745. Among these chiefs, Simon Fraser Lord Lovat would seem on first scrutiny to offer little else than contrast to Fergus, who, though equal to him in self-interest and guile, was far from imitating his vacillation between Hanoverians and Jacobites according to the dictates of policy. Indeed, had Fergus been as shifty as Lord Lovat, he would have involved the plot of *Waverley* in awkward complications and, in addition, would have had by his side no self-devoted sister, sharing his projects, but not his motives.

Despite the very obvious distinction between the two men, however, their lives afford a more striking parallel than could result from coincidence alone. Scott describes Fergus as "bold, ambitious, and ardent, yet artful and politic," with "a character of uncommon acuteness, fire, and ambition," and Lovat, in his review of the *Culloden Papers*, as illustrating by his history "the effect of power and ambition upon a mind naturally shrewd, crafty, and resolute, but wild, tameless, and unprincipled,"¹ and as possessing "a character at once bold, cautious, and crafty; loving command, yet full of flattery and dissimulation."² Each chief, when placed in command of an independent company of the Black Watch, organised to preserve peace in the Highlands, exerted his military authority to prepare the Gael for a future rising.

He [Lovat] made it a main argument . . . that it was their duty to enter into his company by rotation; and . . . he thus procured the means, without suspicion, of training to military discipline his whole clan by turns.³

¹ *The Quarterly Review*, XIV (1815-16), p. 316.

² *Ibid.*, XIV, 325.

³ *Ibid.*, XIV, 324. In the note on "Highland Policy," added nearly fifteen years after the original publication of *Waverley*, Sir Walter calls attention to the historicity of Fergus MacIvor's tactics: "This sort of political game ascribed to MacIvor was in reality played by several Highland chiefs, the celebrated Lord Lovat in particular, who used that kind of finesse to the uttermost."

He [Fergus] caused his vassals to enter by rotation into his company, and serve for a certain space of time, which gave them all in turn a general notion of military discipline.

Both men were deprived of their commands by a government which seemed to suspect the duplicity practiced.⁴ In recognition of services rendered and as an inducement to future exertions, James III granted Fergus an earl's patent; to Lovat he gave, on 14th March 1740, the titles of "Duke of Fraser, Marquis of Beaufort, Earl of Strath-Therrick [*i. e.* Strath-errick] and Upper Tarf [*i. e.* Abertarf], Viscount of the Aird and Strath-Glass, Lord Lovat and Beaulieu [*i. e.* Beaulieu]." ⁵ Both of these Jacobite noblemen were beheaded for complicity in the '45.

Although Scott apparently had Lovat in mind while working on certain features of Fergus MacIvor's portrait, he definitely borrows only one episode from the Lovat saga—that of the Highland feast. It will be remembered that Edward Waverley enters a hall which occupies the first floor of MacIvor's original structure, through whose entire length extends a huge oaken table. The following order of precedence among the numerous company is carefully observed: the chief, with Edward and two or three Highland visitors of neighbouring clans; the elders of his own tribe, "wadsetters" and "tacksmen"; their sons and nephews and foster-brethren; the officers of the chief's household, according to their rank; and, lowest of all, the tenants who actually cultivate the soil. Even beyond this long perspective, Edward sees upon the green, to which a huge pair of folding doors opens, a multitude of inferior Highlanders; in the distance are women, ragged boys and girls, beggars, young and old, and dogs of every description. The viands, too, have their gradations in quality: fish and game; immense clumsy joints of mutton and beef; a yearling lamb, called "a hog in har'st," roasted whole and attacked by the clansmen with knives and dirks; and, lower down still, even coarser, though sufficiently abundant, fare. Broth, onions, cheese, and the fragments of the feast regale those in the open air. As for the drinks, excellent claret and champagne circulate among the chief's immediate

⁴ See W. C. Mackenzie, *Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat His Life and Times* (London, 1908), p. 309, n. 3, and *Waverley*, Chapter XIX.

⁵ The Marquis of Ruvigny and Raineval, *The Jacobite Peerage* (Edinburgh, 1904), p. 56.

neighbours, while strong beer and whisky, plain or diluted, refresh the men who sit farther from the head of the table. As each man understood that his taste was to be formed according to his rank at table, no one took offence at this inequality of distribution; the tacksmen, for example, always declared the wine too cold for their stomachs and called, apparently out of choice, for the liquor assigned them for reasons of economy.⁶

In my abridgment I have retained Scott's phrasing wherever brevity permitted. The following is an account of a similar feast presided over by Lord Lovat and chronicled by the author of *Memoirs of the Life and Gallant Exploits of the Old Highlander, Serjeant Donald Macleod* (London, 1791), a copy of which may be found in the library at Abbotsford:⁷

He lived in all the fulness and dignity of the ancient hospitality, being more solicitous, according to the genius of feudal times, to retain and multiply adherents than to accumulate wealth by the improvement of his estate. As scarcely any fortune, and certainly not his fortune, was adequate to the extent of his views, he was obliged to regulate his unbounded hospitality by rules of prudent oeconomy. As his spacious hall was crowded by kindred visitors, neighbours, vassals, and tenants of all ranks, the table, that extended from one end of it nearly to the other, was covered, at different places, with different kinds of meat and drink; though of each kind there was always great abundance. At the head of the table, the lords and lairds pledged his lordship in claret, and sometimes champagne; the tacksmen, or duniwassals, drank port or whiskey punch; tenants, or common husbandmen, refreshed themselves with strong beer: and below the utmost extent of the table, at the door, and sometimes without the door of the hall, you might see a multitude of Frazers, without shoes or bonnets, regaling themselves with bread and onions, with a little cheese perhaps, and small beer. Yet, amidst the whole of this aristocratical inequality, Lord Lovat had the address to keep all his guests in perfectly good humour. Cousin, he would say to such and such a tacksmen, or duniwassal, I told my pantry lads to hand you some claret, but they tell me ye like port and punch best. In like manner, to the beer-drinkers, he would say, Gentlemen, there is what ye please at your service: but I send you ale, because I understand ye like ale best. Every body was thus well

⁶ *Waverley*, Chapter xx. See also the note on "A Scottish Dinner-Table," in which Scott is apparently reminded of the household at Castle Downie by his own description of the imaginary meal at the Castle of Glennaquoich.

⁷ See *Catalogue of the Library at Abbotsford* (Edinburgh, 1838), p. 80. The library also contains much biographical material on Lord Lovat--*Catalogue*, pp. 89, 90, 94, 96, and 100.

pleased; and none were so ill-bred as to gainsay what had been reported to his lordship.⁸

The banquet in *Waverley*, unlike that just described, is considerably enlivened by music: "The bagpipers, three in number, screamed, during the whole time of dinner, a tremendous war-tune." Lord Lovat's *ménage* was not without this characteristic bit of Highland splendour, although an English visitor, Captain Edward Burt, did think the "concealed Musicians" were imported from Inverness to impress him: "We were no sooner sat down to Table, but a Band of Musick struck up in a little Place out of Sight, and continued Playing all the Time of Dinner."⁹

Scott's treatment of the Highland dinner as he found it described in the *Memoirs* and in Burt's Letters is highly characteristic of his narrative art. He takes a picturesque scene in which the figures are almost consciously awaiting the breath of life and animates it by dialogue, action, and conflict or contrast of personalities. As a result of his great knowledge of the '15 and the '45, gained from books and oral tradition, the *Waverley* novels dealing with the Jacobite risings are in many ways historico-romantic mosaics which gain unity, force, and continuity from the interpretive activity of the author's imagination. And in the mosaic of *Waverley* one of the finest bits is the Highland feast of Fergus MacIvor.

COLEMAN O. PARSONS

Vassar College

DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI'S COMMENTS ON *MAUD*

Among the unpublished portions of the letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti to William Allingham, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, there are extensive remarks by Rossetti upon *Maud* and upon Tennyson's reaction to the reception of that poem by the critics. These passages were left unpublished by George Birkbeck

⁸ *Memoirs*, pp. 47-8. Cf. "Letters written by Mrs. Grant of Laggan concerning Highland Affairs and Persons connected with the Stuart Cause in the Eighteenth Century," ed. J. R. N. Macphail, *Publications* of the Scottish History Society, xxvi (1896), 260-61.

⁹ Captain Burt, *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland* (London, 1754), I, 183. Scott also had a Highland piper—J. G. Lockhart, *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk* (1819), Letter II.

Hill, the editor of Rossetti's letters to Allingham, in 1897, for reasons that will be apparent. They are published now, when there can be no personal feeling as a result, with the permission of Mrs. Nell Allingham and Miss Belle da Costa Greene, Director of the Pierpont Morgan Library.

In his letter of July 29, 1855, Rossetti wrote to Allingham: "I've just hastily read through *Maud*; very great of course, but seems an odd De Balzacish sort of story for an Englishman at Tennyson's age." In the twenty-seventh letter, dated August, 1855, after a more thorough study of *Maud*, Rossetti wrote to Allingham again, criticizing the poem at length. Hill left the following passage unpublished:

What do you think of *Maud*? I don't know whether Woolner's precursory trumpet has done it harm with me, but I am (as yet) disappointed in it. Of course much is most lovely—especially the garden scene—but much is surely artificial, and that incomprehensible section of the two governors getting groggy together. The leading character is quite uncongenial and a person who, being made the medium of the social and other views, deprives them of all value in fact, though to be sure you know they're Tennyson's, or rather that T. has written so about them, for they are much more like a sort of thing the author thinks "ought" to be written, but about which he feels lazy and thinks it (as some of his readers perhaps do) nothing but a bore. In style too these parts are quite generally overloaded and sometimes almost as bad as *Lady Geraldine's Courtship*¹ without so much "go" in them either. The story throughout, from the "flattened" father onward, seems worthy rather of Alex. Smith than Tennyson. Of course, after all this abuse, one mustn't miss saying how glorious some of the poetry is and how admirable in its way *The Brook* is throughout. The other poems seem not quite up to T.'s mark, except the little bit called *Will*; which in its closing lines is most like him of any, I think. I dare say that you know that *Maud* originated in the section, "Would that 'twere possible," etc., which was printed in an annual many years ago and was liked so much (as one hears) by T.'s friends that he kept it in view and gradually worked it up into the story. The best parts of the old section are as good I think as anything in the poem, but one can trace the incongruity of the "make up" in the passages referring to the "leagues of lights", "roaring of wheels", etc.; which would refer neither to the country place where Maud lived nor to Brittany where the passage is supposed to be written, but evidently were meant in the first instance for London; which, by the bye, is roaring under my window just now at breakfast time and making me seem the only person not at work.

In his next letter, dated November 25, 1855, Rossetti was still

¹ This is the ballad with that title by Elizabeth Barrett Browning.

upon the subject of *Maud*, but with an interest now in the personal reaction of Tennyson to his critics. Concerning this letter William Michael Rossetti wrote:

When Dr. Birkbeck Hill was editing the *Letters of Dante Rossetti to William Allingham*, he had in his hands one letter in which Rossetti spoke of a recent interview of his with Tennyson. He did not here say anything detrimental to Tennyson, whom in truth he greatly admired as a poet, and liked (so far as he saw him) as a man; but he related one or two incidents symptomatic of the more off-hand or unconventional shades of the poet's demeanor. Dr. Hill and Mrs. Allingham² agreed in thinking that, before this letter was published, it should be shown to the present Lord Tennyson, for consideration by himself and his mother. The reply came in terms more than sufficiently strong to the effect that the publication of such details might be the death of Lady Tennyson. Therefore all that part of the letter was excluded from the volume.³

The omission is indicated on page 162 of Hill's volume, in the midst of Rossetti's account of that so-called "night of the Gods" when Tennyson read *Maud* and Browning read "Fra Lippo Lippi" to a small group of friends. The following words indicate that the atmosphere of the Gods was not untainted with mortal weaknesses:

I was never more amused in my life than by Tennyson's groanings and horrors over the reviews of *Maud*, which poem he read through to us, spouting also several sections to be introduced in a new edition. I made a sketch of him reading, which I gave to Browning, and afterwards a duplicate of it for Miss Siddall. His conversation was really one perpetual groan, and I am sure during the two long evenings I spent in his company he repeated the same stories about anonymous letters he gets, etc., at the very least 6 or 8 times in my hearing, besides an odd time or two, as I afterwards found, that he told them to members of the company in private. He also repeated them to me again, walking home together. All this to the intense wonder of Browning, who, as you know, treats reviewers in the way they deserve. Tennyson actually insisted that for twelve years after his first publication, no notice whatever was taken of him, and seemed rather annoyed at anyone recollecting to the contrary. Of course there was something delightful in the genuineness of all this, and he is quite as glorious in his way as Browning, and perhaps, of the two men, more impressive on the whole personally. One of his stories was about an anonymous letter running thus (received since *Maud* came out): "Sir, I used to worship you. Now I hate you; I loathe and detest you, you beast! You've taken to imitating Longfellow.

Yours in aversion,"

² This was Mrs. Helen Allingham, now deceased.

³ *Some Reminiscences* (New York, 1906), p. 259.

... "and no name," says Alfred, scoring the table with an indignant thumb and glaring round with suspended pipe while his auditors look as sympathetic as their view of the matter permits. He has an irreconcilable grudge against a poor mope of a fellow called Archer Gurney,⁴ who he swears must be the author of the letter, having treated him before to titbits something in the same taste. But the idea of literary cabals under which he is destined to sink one day never seemed to leave his mind. As we walked home, we passed the Holborn Casino, before which cabs were drawn up. "What's that place?" asks A. T., and on my telling him,— "Ah!" he says, "I'd rather like to go there, but La!" (a minute afterwards) "there'd be some newspaper man, and he'd know me."

M. L. HOWE

New Haven, Connecticut

PROBLEMS OF LYRIC FORM

The concepts of rational and irrational, closed and open form in literature, present a somewhat confusing problem since it is difficult to discriminate between the rational content of a literary production and the rational and irrational form of its expression, a difficulty complicated even more through the fact that elements of form may be simultaneously rational and irrational factors of expression. Thus anaphora may on the one hand, serve to emphasize order of syntax and disposition of content, on the other it may through the repetition of word or word groups directly convey the intensity of an expressed emotion. Form, again, may be structurally or metrically closed but melodically open or the opposite may be the case. Little work has so far been done in this field and even Strich, who was instrumental in opening the discussion through his *Klassik und Romantik*, does not always avoid confusion. Theodor A. Meyer in a very thoughtful article (which, by the way, gives full credit to the merits of Strich's book, *Dt. Vjs.* 1925, p. 231 ff.) takes issue with his assertion that Romantic art, as an art of infinity, of constant change and motion, contradicts all laws of form, presents its material as a singular tone in the melody of infinite time (p. 269, Strich, p. 107/8) and is not capable of closed form. Against this thesis, Meyer upholds that in all true art, form expresses the temporal to its fullest extent but simultaneously raises it into the light of eternal human laws; furthermore, that open form must

⁴ Archer Thompson Gurney (1820-1887) was a poet and theologian.

not be mistaken for formlessness. No doubt, Strich on the one hand, rests his conclusions too much on Romantic theory, on the other he generalizes too much on the basis of works which are not sufficiently typical, as, for instance, in the comparison between Eichendorff's and Goethe's *Meeresstille* (p. 167 ff.).

To clarify these problems the following detailed study was undertaken, analyzing three poems of which the first two are related in subject while the last seems especially well suited for an illustration of melodic unity.

1.

GRETCHEN (am Spinnrocken allein)

	Typus		Typus
I. 1. Meine Rùh ist hìn, Mein Hèrz ist schwér, Ich finde sie nimmer Und nimmer mèhr.	B B C	3. Sein hòher Gáng, Sein edle Gestált, Seines Múndes Lächeln, Seiner Áugen Gewalt	B A
2. Wo ich ihn nicht hàb Ist mìr das Gráb, Die gånze Wèlt Ist mir vergállt.	D B	4. Und selner Réde Záuberflúß, Sein Hándedrück Und ách sein Kúß!	C D
3. Mein àrmer Kópff Ist mìr verrúckt, Mein àrmer Sinn Ist mìr zerstückt.	B B	III. 1. Meine Rùh ist hìn, Mein Hèrz ist schwér, Ich finde sie nimmer Und nimmer mèhr.	B C
II. 1. Meine Rùh ist hìn, Mein Hèrz ist schwér Ich finde sie nimmer Und nimmer mèhr.	B C	2. Mein Schòß! Gott! drängt Sich nàch ihm hìn. Ach dùrft ich fásen Und hálten ihn	B C
2. Nach ihm nur schàu ich Zum Fénster hinaùs, Nach ihm nur gèh ich Àùs dem Hàus.	A D	3. Und kússen ihn So wie ich wóllt, An seinen Kússen Vergéhen sóllt!	D C

Margarete's Monologue at the Spinning Wheel by Goethe, to be sure, does not exemplify the pure genus-form (Gattungsform) of the specifically lyric poem on account of its strong admixture of the dramatic element. It is, however, lyric in so far as it has for its theme the psychic state or mood of an unendurable erotic tension yearning for a complete abandon.

The presentation of this content is accomplished verbally in a

clear, simple realistic diction of a strongly anaphoric structure and parallel phraseology (*Meine Ruh ist . . . , mein Herz ist . . . ; ist mir verrückt, ist mir zerstückt* etc.). There are only two metaphoric expressions, *Welt ein Grab, Rede Zauberfluß*, unless we consider *Kopf verrückt, Sinn zerstückt* also as such. In opposition to this rational verbal rendering we have a non-logical syntax of sentences and phrases, unconnected in the first part, linked with *und* in the second to indicate emotional acceleration. The only subordinate constructions *Wo ich ihn nicht hab, sowie ich wollt* are not of a dialectic character and the dependent condition *wenn ich ihn fassen dürfte, so sollte ich* is changed to an independent exclamation.

The disposition of the poem is translucid and ordered. The refrain stanza (*Meine Ruh ist hin to nimmermehr*) divides it into three groups of three, four, and three stanzas and, sounding the dominant theme of departure, at the same time forms a point of rest and return in the progressive, dramatic ascension of the composition to the climactic ending.

The first group of stanzas (refrain plus 2 stanzas) shows by means of the pronouns *meine, meine, ich mir, mir, mein, mir* that Gretchen is the center of attention, while the single *ihn* in stanza 2 points to Faust as the aim of her yearning.

In the second group (refrain plus 3 stanzas) Faust is referred to with *ihm, ihm, sein, sein, seines, seiner, sein, sein*, as against a two-fold *ich* (Gretchen) at the outset (Group II, stanza 2).

In the third group (refrain plus 2 stanzas) the pronouns alternate: *mein-ihm; ich-ihn, ihn; ich-seinen*, indicating the desired union of the lovers.

But since this union is only imagined, subjective, expressed through the subjunctive *solt'*, the melody curve attains no complete and closing cadence but causes our own feeling involuntarily to turn back to the initial refrain *Meine Ruh ist hin*, thus completing the circle, a movement which is symbolized by the spinning wheel at which Gretchen is sitting. (A similar technique, by the way, Goethe has employed in his poem *Ganymed*, where the ending reverts to and illustrates the title.)

It may, however, not be inferred—as Kühnemann strangely assumes in his *Goethe*—that the poem is spoken to the treading of the wheel, a presentation which would entirely destroy its symbol

value and, moreover, induce an impossible rationalizing of the recitation. On the contrary, the wheel is at rest, but in Margareta's head the thoughts revolve, halting, hesitating in simple modesty, but relentlessly and inexorably.

Metrically the poem presents at first glance the rationally ordered unity-form of fourstressed iambic couplets. But in contrast to the unity-form (*Einheitsform*), stands the expression-form (*Ausdrucksform*) of the poem, if we adopt this term of Theodor A. Meyer for the factors of language, rhythm, and melody which, without taking the devious way over rational speech and traditional meter, express directly, non-rationally, musically—so to say—the emotions involved. Expressive in this sense are the typographic breaking of the fourstressed line in two parts, indicating the aforementioned halting speech (interior rhyme occurs only line 1070/3), the additional unstressed syllables for the purpose of acceleration, and the bursting asunder of stanzaic bounds toward the end of group II and III by the onward pressing emotional urge. Moreover, the ordered monotony of equal accents is disturbed by their gradation into melodic types, which enter into a series of everchanging variations: the refrain stanza has types B and C, followed in group I by D B, B B; in group II by A D, B A, C D; in group III by B C, D C; a free and expressive melodic flux and reflux of powerful effect. Thus the poem as a whole presents a rationally ordered, dynamically progressing, plastic gesture whose expression-form threatens to disrupt from within the unity-form which binds it.

To the subjective passion of the girl, to the restless circling of her thoughts, on the one hand, corresponds the non-rational expression: alogic, asyndetic and polysyndetic in turn, breaking verse and stanza, with predominating melodic accent and a weakening of the end cadence, which reverts to the beginning. To the objectivity of presentation, to the raising of the theme into the supra-temporal, the typical, on the other hand, corresponds the art of ordered and controlled form with unity verse, syntactic parallelism, structure of stanzas, and closed form of the poem in climatic disposition. The counter action of these two elements constitute the powerful dynamic suggestiveness, the consummate poetic perfection which are the stamp of Goethe's characteristic and organic art even in this pre-classic period.

2.

BRENTANO: *DER SPINNERIN LIED*

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|--|-----------------|
| I, 1. Es sang vor langen Jahren | a ¹ | 2. Ich sing und kann nicht weinen | ei ¹ |
| Wohl auch die Nachtigall; | | Und spinne so allein | |
| Das war ein süßer Schall, | | Den Faden klar und rein, | |
| Da wir zusammen waren. | a ² | Solang der Mond wird scheinen. | ei ² |
| II, 3. Da wir zusammen waren, | a ² | 4. Sooft der Mond mag scheinen, | ei ² |
| Da sang die Nachtigall; | | Gedenk ich dein allein, | |
| Nun mahnet mich ihr Schall, | | Mein Herz ist klar und rein, | |
| Daß du von mir gefahren. | a ³ | Gott wolle uns vereinen! | ei ³ |
| III, 5. Seit du von mir gefahren, | a ³ | 6. Gott wolle uns vereinen! | ei ³ |
| Singt stets die Nachtigall; | | Hier spinn ich so allein, | |
| Ich denk bei ihrem Schall, | | Der Mond scheint klar und rein, (ei ²) | |
| Wie wir zusammen waren. | a ² | Ich sing und möchte weinen. | ei ¹ |

Brentano's poem *Der Spinnerin Lied*, as the title indicates a *Rollengedicht*, clearly belongs to the genus-form lyric, since its theme is the yearning of forsaken love, not, as it might seem, an epic presentation of the theme of the abandoned maiden. The contrast to Goethe's poem is striking: no action, no motion, pure musically vibrating mood and on that account a minimum of rational wording; for nightingale, moon, spinning, singing, weeping, are not rational, not even picturing, let alone plastic factors; their cumulative, suggestive effect together with their sound quality constitute the non-rational mood values of the poem. The only active element seems to be time, which once saw the girl in her happiness, now sees her sad and forsaken, and which may reunite her with her lover in the future. It is indeed "melody of infinite time, the music of which connects far past with far future," as Strich characterizes one of Eichendorff's lyrics (p. 167).

If we consider the metrical form, we find six structurally equal stanzas of rational unity-form, iambic threestressed tetrameters with pause and alternating feminine and masculine endings. But of the non-rational elements of this form the musical quality so strongly predominates that in comparison Goethe's melodic types seem entirely dynamic; for in Brentano's lyric the vowel combinations are used like musical figures. The six stanzas divide into two groups, identified by the vowel of their rhymes. The first, third, fifth stanza use the vowel *a*, the second, fourth, sixth the vowel *ei* in alternating feminine and masculine rhymes. To these rhymes

correspond in content: the past union of the lovers while the nightingale sang (*a*-stanzas); the present solitude of the forsaken girl who sings and spins in the moonlight (*ei*-stanzas).

This duplex situation is carried through a triple period of time:

Group I, stanzas 1 and 2: the past and present in mere juxtaposition;

Group II, stanzas 3 and 4: the past permeates the present, as often as the moonlight revives its memories;

Group III, stanzas 5 and 6: the past is perpetuated and projected into the future with the wish: May God reunite us.

Thus we have a polar dualism as well as the sacred trinity of German Romanticism which Schlegel called the infinite rhythm of time (Strich, p. 305). "The physical is," to quote again a word of Fritz Strich, "transfigured, consumed by fire, and changed to spiritual meaning." This is the reason why the lines with slight alterations remain the same, for nothing but time changes. In the middle of each *a*-rhyme stanza, we have the two rhyme words

Nachtigall	—	Wohl auch die Nachtigall
		Da sang die Nachtigall
		Singt stets die Nachtigall
and Schall	—	Das war wohl süßer Schall
		Nun mahnet mich der Schall
		Ich denk bei ihrem Schall.

In the middle of each *ei*-rhyme stanza, we have the two rhyme words

allein	—	Und spinne so allein
		Gedenk ich dein allein
		Hier spinn ich so allein
and (klar und) rein	—	Den Faden klar und rein
		Mein Herz ist klar und rein
		Der Mond scheint klar und rein.

Moreover, beside this identity of the rhyme words at the identical place, there is an identity of the embracing verses, i. e., the last line of each stanza is repeated as the initial line of the respective following stanza so that, if we number the embracing rhymes of the *a*-stanzas a^1, a^2, a^3 , of the *ei*-stanzas ei^1, ei^2, ei^3 , there results a progression $a^1-a^2 / ei^1-ei^2 / a^2-a^3 / ei^2-ei^3$ and a retrogression a^3-a^2 / ei^3-ei^1 . The rhyme, however, with which the poem closes, is not the initial rhyme of the poem but that of the second, the *ei*-stanza, so that the ending of the poem does not revert to the

beginning, it remains open and purposely so. We could very well add a seventh stanza which might be imagined to run like this:

Da wir zusammen waren,
Da sang die Nachtigall,
Das war wohl süßer Schall
Vor langen, langen Jahren.

Thus the poem would in fact be closed, the hope for a return of the lover in some future time would be given up, and the ending would revert to the beginning. That Brentano has purposely avoided this, may be inferred from the fact that he introduced into the third line of stanza 6 the words *Mond* and *scheint*, words of the rhyme line ei^2 which now takes its place in numerical retrogression ei^3 , ei^2 , ei^1 and establishes at least a secret semi-closure.

All in all, then, this poem, which expresses a lyric mood in simple musical variations, and seems to issue forth from the unconscious, purposeless depth of the soul, is of a crafty, mathematically rational construction, which reveals itself only through minute analysis. It employs non-rationally expressive means in a rational way, quite similar to that of those Gothic architects who achieve their mystical art of building space by throwing the weight of the roof upon carefully calculated outside buttresses. The expression formless would, therefore, hardly fit this most ingeniously constructed poem of a perfect lyric genus-form, open unity-form of a musical type, which at the same time is expression-form of a romantic, subjective consciousness of infinity.

The suppression of one or two stanzas in *Margarete's Monologue at the Spinning Wheel* would destroy the rational as well as the irrational form, unity and expression form; in Brentano the rational part would hardly be disturbed, the irrational form would suffer, but since it is open without an end cadence, it would not be perceptibly changed.

3.

EICHENDORFF: *MONDNACHT*.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. Es war als hätt der Himmel
Die Erde still geküßt,
Daß sie im BLÜTENSCHIMMER.
Von ihm nur TRÄUMEN, müßt.</p> | <p>2. Die Luft ging durch die Felder,
Die Aehren wogten sacht,
Es rauschten leis die Wälder,
So sternklar war die Nacht.</p> |
| <p>3. Und meine SEELE spannte
Weit ihre FLÜGEL aus,
Flog durch die stillen Lande,
Als flöge sie nach Haus.</p> | |

Eichendorff's *Mondnacht* may now demonstrate that musical form need not be identical with open form, in fact in most music proper the closed form is preferred. Strich chanced to select for a comparison with Goethe one of Eichendorff's open poems. But already Nadler in his study on *Eichendorffs Lyrik* (Prag 1908) was aware of different structural types in the output of this poet, and it would be worth while to follow up his suggestions with careful melodic analyses.

The first of the three stanzas of *Mondnacht* strikes with its very first words the lyrical chord of complete subjectivity. Not "the sky had kissed the earth so that she dreamed of him" but "it was as if." The third stanza projects this motion in reversed order into the soul of the poet, which now, leaving the earth, flies heavenward. The corresponding symmetrically placed words are: *Himmel-Haus, Erde-Lande, Blütenschimmer-Flügel, träumen-Seele*.¹ And not by chance are the rhymes *spannte-Lande, Himmel-Schimmer* dreamily inexact. Although the tense of the poem is a poetic past, a past, present, and future may again be divined in it. The simple language and sentence structure are entirely non-rational and replete with metaphoric meaning. The correspondence of stanza one and three is reflected in the melodic form, for in 1, each two lines form a downward tending wave, repeated more intensely and with a deeper cadence in 3.

In between these subjective dream reactions the second stanza is inserted, a factual description of the quiet lands in four even melodic planes, tending slightly downward, each one starting almost at the same level, a tone picture of a dream landscape. This middle part could be left out without destroying the meaning of the poem. But if the third stanza were read immediately after the first, the end of the cadence would fall so low that it would be beyond the range of the normal voice on account of the steady fall of the eight descending lines. Only through the fact that the second stanza draws the melody of the poem to a higher level and holds it there, the long closing cadence of the third is made possible.

It thus becomes manifest that the poem was conceived as a melodic unity. In spite of its dreamy indefiniteness, its suggestion of infinity, its entirely musical character (revealed also in the importance of the vowel scales of every line) it presents a closed

¹ Note: Correspondence indicated through varying type in the text above.

melodic form. Schumann in his composition of the song has accentuated these elements very successfully, especially the difference of the second stanza and the relation of the ending to the beginning.

ERNST FEISE

TO AN *ALBUMBLATT* OF UHLAND

While Uhland was a delegate to the Frankfort Parliament, his wife accompanied him to that city, and their social intercourse was almost entirely in the home of a Frankfort physician, Dr. Mappes. On May 9, 1849, Frau Uhland wrote in the autograph-album of a daughter of the family the following lines:

Ein weinend Kind lagst du auf Mutters Schooß,
Als lächelnd rings umstanden dich die Deinen;
Nun lebe so, daß, wann erfüllt dein Loos,
Du lächeln mögst, wenn Alle um dich weinen.

Friedrich Notter, in his *Life of Uhland* (Stuttgart, 1863, p. 325 ff.), asserted that these lines were not original: they were, in their essential content, derived from Jean Paul, and had been put into verse-form by some lady, perhaps Karoline Rudolphi. This guess is reproduced in the critical edition of *Uhlands Gedichte* by Schmidt and Hartmann (II, 201).

On May 22, Uhland wrote under these verses, on the same page, his own lines:

Inzwischen wandle frisch hinan
Die wechselvolle Lebensbahn, . . . etc.

Both poems were first published, after Uhland's death, in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, February 21, 1863.

The stanza under consideration is not contained in any of Karoline Rudolphi's works: there is a poem (I, 132) of eight stanzas, "An ein neugebohrnes Kind," which was perhaps in Notter's thought—but it has no resemblance to the lines in the album.

My son was reading from the *Oxford Book of English Poetry*, and called my attention to a quatrain beginning: "On parent knees, a naked new-born child," attributed there to Sir William Jones. This stanza is not contained in Jones's *Works*, but in his *Life*, by Lord Teignmouth, it is stated that in 1785 a periodical was founded

at Calcutta, under the title, *Asiatick Miscellany*; to the first two volumes (1785 and 1786) Sir William Jones, at that time a magistrate of the Supreme Court in Calcutta, contributed various articles, among them some smaller pieces, "from which," says Lord Teignmouth, "I quote with pleasure, the following beautiful tetrastick, which is a literal translation from the Persian:

On parent knees a naked, new-born child,
Weeping thou sat'st, while all around thee smil'd:
So live, that, sinking in thy last long sleep,
Calm thou may'st smile, when all around thee weep."

There can be no doubt as to the identity of these verses. How Jones's quatrain came to be known in Germany, would be another story.

JAMES TAFT HATFIELD

Northwestern University

GERSTÄCKER ÜBER ZEITGENÖSSISCHE SCHRIFTSTELLER

Bei dem Lesen der Schriften Gerstäckers ist man von der Fülle der Zitate überrascht, die zum grösseren Teil *Faust* entnommen sind. Sehr richtig führt George H. R. O'Donnell dies auf die Tatsache zurück, dass Gerstäcker seine Jugendjahre im Hause seiner Tante, der Frau des Direktors Schütz zubrachte, dem die Leitung des Herzoglichen Theaters in Braunschweig unterstand. Er sagt darüber:

The artistic circles at Braunschweig, too, were a tremendous stimulant to the boy; and so deep was the impression made upon him by Goethe's *Faust*, when his uncle put it on the German stage for the first time in 1829, that we find young Gerstäcker quoting it years later while far in the deep wilds of Arkansas—and with at least fair accuracy, too.¹

Daneben findet Schiller gelegentliche Erwähnung.

Was Gerstäcker an der andern Hand über zeitgenössische Schriftsteller denkt, erhellt seine Korrespondenz mit seinem Verleger, H. Costenoble.² Die grössere Anzahl der diesbezüglichen Bemerkungen

¹ *PMLA.*, XLII (1927), S. 1036.

² Im Privatbesitz des Herrn Professor Dr. W. Kurrelmeyer, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

in seinen Briefen bezieht sich auf Dichter, deren stärkste Seite auf dem Gebiete des exotischen Romans zu suchen ist, ähnlich wie bei Gerstäcker selbst. Seine Beurteilung ist in den meisten Fällen durchaus nicht schmeichelhaft. Doch bevor wir uns diesen Kritiken anderer Schriftsteller zuwenden, sei es erlaubt, einige Stellen anzuführen, die zeigen werden, wie hoch Gerstäcker seine eigenen Arbeiten einschätzt. Am 24. August 1864 schreibt er mit Bezug auf seine zwei Romane, *Señor Águila* und *General Franco*:

Die beiden neuen Romane behandeln . . . ein vollkommen neues Feld und sind beide gelungen. In Köln versicherte mir die Redaction,³ die das Manuscript gelesen hatte, dass ihr *Señor Águila* noch besser gefiel als die *Colonie*, über die sie mir schon viel Schmeichelhaftes geschrieben.

Bezüglich der Ausstattung seiner Gesamtwerke beruft er sich auf Schriftsteller, die einen bedeutenden Ruf haben:

Was Ihre Anfrage wegen einer grösseren Bändezahl betrifft, mein lieber Herr Costenoble, so kennen Sie meine Ansicht darüber. Alle anständigen Bücher von Edm. Höfer, Auerbach, Gutzkow, Freytag etc. werden in anständigen Bänden und nicht als Leihbibliothekenfutter herausgegeben, und keine Leihbibliothek, die sich das Buch überhaupt anschafft, wird es refüsiren, weil es 4 statt 5 oder sechs Bände hat. . . . Wer es sich aber in seine Bibliothek kauft, möchte doch auch gern vernünftige Bände haben und ich glaube und hoffe, dass besonders in Österreich viel von Privat Personen gekauft werden wird. (7. Juli 1870.)

Als die Vorbereitungen für die Herausgabe der gesammelten Werke erledigt sind, und der Prospekt ihm von Costenoble zugesandt wird, antwortet er im Briefe vom 26. Februar 1872:

Prospekt viel zu schmeichelhaft—ich kann's mir gefallen lassen.

Es wird aus diesen Stellen ersichtlich, dass Gerstäcker eine recht gute Ansicht über seinen eigenen Wert als Schriftsteller hat.

Der erste Dichter, den Gerstäcker in den vorliegenden Briefen erwähnt, ist Möllhausen.⁴ Über ihn schreibt er am 6. Juli 1862 an Costenoble:

Apropos die Möllenhaussischen Bücher, über die Sie von mir ein Urtheil wollten. Mein guter Herr Costenoble, ich gebe Ihnen das nicht gern, da Hr. M. gleichen Stoff mit mir behandelt, wenigstens ein gleiches Terrain

³ Wurde zuerst in der *Kölnischen Zeitung* abgedruckt.

⁴ Balduin Möllhausen, geboren am 27. Januar 1825 zu Bonn; gestorben am 28. Mai 1905 in Berlin.

hat. So viel kann ich Ihnen aber sagen, dass es meiner Meinung nach der reine Schund ist, & ich meinen Namen nicht um vieles Geld unter einem dieser Bücher haben möchte. Ich möchte mich verbindlich machen, einen solchen Roman einer Anzahl Stenographen in drei Tagen zu diktieren. Das aber natürlich nur unter uns. Die Leihbibliotheken werden sie kaufen, denn es ist deren Futter; Spiess & Kramer in's Amerikanische übersetzt, mit lauter unmöglichen Charakteren.

Ähnlich ist sein Urteil über Hackländer.⁵ Im Jahre 1864, als er mit Costenoble bezüglich der Gesamtausgabe seiner Werke unterhandelt, schreibt er:

Was nun unseren Kontrakt einer Gesamtauflage betrifft, so muss ich da, ehe ich Ihren letzten Brief beantworte, noch einmal auf einen früheren zurückkommen, worin Sie sagen, dass Hackländer verhältnismässig weniger bekäme als ich. Ich wollte Ihnen darauf nur erwidern, dass die Hackländersche Auflage 20 Bände zu je 14 Bogen—Summa 280 Bogen umfasste, und die meinige fast 800—doch das nur nebenbei. (17. März 1864.)

Die Veröffentlichung seines Romans *Die Mutter* in der *Kölnischen Zeitung* wird durch den Abdruck eines Romans Hackländers hingehalten. Gerstäcker gibt seinem Ärger darüber im Briefe vom 4. Dezember 1865 Ausdruck:

Mein neuer Roman in der *Kölnischen Zeitung* hat noch nicht begonnen, da Hackländer einen Bandwurm abdrucken lässt. Wie furchtbar langweilig und breitschweifig dieser *Künstlerroman* sich ausdehnt, ist wahrhaftig nicht zu sagen. Er braucht oft drei, vier ganze Nummern hinter einander, in denen nicht allein gar Nichts geschieht, sondern die auch nicht in der geringsten Verbindung mit der Hauptsache stehn. Ich begreife nicht, dass sich das Publikum so etwas gefallen lässt. Wenn ich so schreiben wollte, könnte ich aus jedem meiner dreibändigen Romane einen zwölfbändigen machen.

Dieser "Bandwurm" erregt wieder seinen Ärger im Briefe vom 8. Januar 1866:

Der erste (*Die Mutter*), der zunächst in der *Köln. Ztg.* abgedruckt wird, wenn Hackländers jetzt dort laufender Bandwurm (beiläufig gesagt das Elendste was H. je geschrieben hat) beendet ist.

Am 9. März lesen wir:

Mit meinem Roman hat mich Hackländer durch einen wahren Bandwurm von Roman, der jetzt seit dem 1sten September in der *Köln. Zeitung* läuft und die Redaktion schon fast zur Verzweiflung gebracht hat, so hinaus-

⁵ Friedrich Wilhelm von H., geboren am 1. November 1816 inurtscheid bei Aachen, gestorben am 6. Juli 1877 in Leoni am Starnberger See.

geschoben, dass der Abdruck derselben erst am 16ten März beginnen kann, also vor Ende April kein Gedanke an Druck ist. Wie langweilig Hackländers Roman ausgefallen ist, mag Ihnen das beifolgende Spottblatt der Carnevalszeitung beweisen, die ihn persiflirt.

Eine Kritik der Dichterin Louise Mühlbach⁶ finden wir ebenfalls in seinen Briefen. Ihre Werke erschienen, wie die Gerstäckers, zum grössten Teil im Verlag Costenoble. Am 9. Juni 1864 schreibt Gerstäcker:

Zum Verlag der Mühlbachschen Werke kann ich Ihnen nur gratuliren. Es ist ein entsetzliches Weib mit ihrer Historienmacherei, aber ihre Bücher werden viel gelesen.

Noch einmal erwähnt er den Namen Mühlbach im Briefe vom 25. Juli 1864, wo es heisst:

Noch eins. In der hiesigen Thienemannschen Buchhandlung hörte ich ein Urtheil über Louise Mühlbach, das ich Ihnen doch nicht vorenthalten will. Sie sagten mir dort nämlich, kein Mensch wolle die Sachen der Dame hier in Gotha mehr lesen und sie ständen wie Blei—ihre Zeit sei vorüber. Ich weiss nicht in wie weit das übertrieben ist, aber ich wollte Sie doch darauf aufmerksam machen.

Was er über die Werke und den Charakter Gutzkows denkt, erfahren wir im Briefe vom 12. Juni 1870:

Was Sie mir über die Acquisition von Gutzkows Werken mittheilen hat mich nicht besonders erfreut—Ihretwegen. Erstlich schreibt Gutzkow jetzt so, dass es kein Mensch mehr lesen oder verstehen kann—Versuchen Sie z. B. einmal den ersten Band von *Hohenschwangau* zu lesen & die Sätze zu verstehen—es ist positiv unmöglich und dann dankt Brockhaus z. B. Gott, dass er von ihm frei ist, und Sie halten es nicht weiter wie bis zum Druck des ersten Bandes mit ihm aus, denn er soll die Setzer zur Verzweiflung treiben. Er ändert fortwährend & zwar so, dass der Satz oft umgeworfen werden muss, und Brockhaus hat ihm zuletzt erklärt, dass er wohl die erste Correctur zu ändern ihm gestatten wolle, die zweite & dritte aber, wenn er fortwährend ganze Sätze umschreibt, müsse er selbst bezahlen. Also setzen Sie sich nur besonders darin mit ihm fest, sonst kommen Sie aus dem Ärger nicht heraus.

Nach dieser Bemerkung vergleicht Gerstäcker Gutzkow mit dem Dichter Bodenstedt⁷ und sagt über letzteren:

⁶ Klara Mundt, geb. Müller, Deckname Luise Mühlbach, geboren am 2. Januar 1814 zu Neubrandenburg, gestorben am 26. September 1873 zu Berlin.

⁷ Friedrich von Bodenstedt, geboren am 22. April 1819 zu Peine (Hanover), gestorben am 18. April 1892 zu Wiesbaden.

Etwas anderes ist es mit Bodenstedt, der ist wirklich ein tüchtiger Geist. Ich traf ihn jetzt in Hamburg & Kiel, wo ich war, um unsere Flotte zu besuchen.

Der Druck seines Romans *Señor Águila*, der nach dem Erscheinen in der *Kölnischen Zeitung* beginnen soll, wird durch den "etwas sehr langen Roman von Struensee"⁸ verzögert. (2. Juni 1864). Vom 25. Juli 1864 haben wir eine Mitteilung folgenden Inhalts:

Ich war auch in Köln, und frug dort die Redaction, ob denn der endlose Roman von Struensee noch kein Ende nähme, damit mein Roman beginnen könne. Struensee hat sie selber damit überrascht, indem sie glaubten, das ganze Manuscript in Händen zu haben, & dann noch drei Bände dazubekamen.

Ungefähr vier Wochen später (24. August 1864) schreibt Gerstäcker wiederum:

Der jetzige Roman in der Köln. Zeitung nimmt garkein Ende. Die Redact. ist selber unglücklich darüber, denn Struensee hat ihnen das Manuscript gegeben, das drei Bände enthielt, und als das begonnen war noch drei Bände nachgeschickt.

Ein Schriftsteller, für den Gerstäcker sich bei Costenoble verwandte, ist der Verfasser eines Romans, der unter dem Namen Ati Kambang schrieb. Die erste Erwähnung eines Romans, der Ati Kambang zum Verfasser hat, ist im Brief vom 6. Januar 1864:

Was den Roman über Rio Janeiro & Australien betrifft, so nehme ich Ihre Bedingungen für meinen Freund an . . . Titel und Vorrede sende ich Ihnen gelegentlich.

Ungefähr drei Wochen später, am 28. Januar 1864 sendet Gerstäcker das versprochene Vorwort:

Der Titel: *die Auswanderer* gefällt mir nicht. Er ist schon zu oft dagewesen. Ich denke wir nennen ihn *Auf fremder Erde*. Der Name ist Ati Kambang (Malayisch) allerdings etwas auffallend, aber das schadet ja Nichts.

Dieser Titel wird dann auch wirklich angenommen. Im Briefe vom 9. Juni 1864 erfahren wir den richtigen Namen des unter dem Pseudonym Ati Kambang schreibenden Schriftstellers. Dies erfolgt in Verbindung mit der Honorarzahlung.

⁸ Oberregierungsrat Gustav Otto von Struensee, geboren am 13. Dezember 1803 in Greifenberg, Pommern, gestorben am 29. September 1879 in Breslau. Seine Werke erschienen unter dem Pseudonym Gustav vom See.

Die Quittung habe ich, oder werde ich für Ati Kambang mit meinem eigenen Namen unterzeichnen. Ihnen selber will ich aber den Namen des Verfassers gern nennen, nur mit der Bitte, ihn geheim zu halten. Es ist Dr. Hermann Behr⁹ in San Francisco ein bekannter Botaniker & sehr tüchtiger Arzt.

Der nächste Brief an Costenoble (18. Juni 1864) enthält die Quittung:

Um Ihnen zu beweisen, dass ich Ihnen das Buch *Auf fremder Erde* nur aus Interesse für die Sache empfohlen habe, lege ich Ihnen die Quittung über das abgeschickte Geld bei. Ich habe nicht einmal meine Portoausslagen abgezogen—die schwere Arbeit an Manuscript & Correkturen ganz ungerechnet.

Drei Jahre später finden wir wiederum diesen Schriftsteller in Gerstäckers Correspondenz mit Costenoble erwähnt (20. Mai 1867):

Vom Verfasser des (Ati Kambang) *Auf fremder Erde* habe ich wieder einen neuen Roman zugesandt bekommen, der ausserordentlich hübsch zu sein scheint, den ich aber noch keine Zeit hatte zu lesen und durchzusehen.

Am 3. Juli 1867 sendet Gerstäcker das Manuscript an Costenoble: Anbei folgt der neue Roman von Ati Kambang *Dritte Söhne*, dem ich den Zusatz geben würde *Californisches Lebensbild*. Er ist vortrefflich.

Interessant ist hier eine Stelle aus Arthur H. Hughes' Dissertation "*Aus Karl Gutzkows Briefen an H. Costenoble in Jena.*"¹⁰ Auf Seite 23 dieser Arbeit befindet sich ein Schreiben Gutzkows, das folgendermassen lautet:

Einer meiner Söhne, der sich in Californien befindet, ersucht mich, bei Ihnen um das Schicksal eines Manuscripts zu fragen, das Ihnen Herr Gerstäcker vermittelt haben soll. Der Verfasser desselben ist ein Dr. Behr in Sanfrancisco, der unter dem Namen, Atti Kambang schon Mehres hat drucken lassen. Da ich veranlasst bin, dieser Tage an meinen Sohn zu schreiben, so würden Sie mich verbinden, wenn Sie mir über diesen Gegenstand gefälligst umgehend Nachricht geben wollten. (26. Dezember 1867.)

Nach dem Datum zu urteilen, dürfte sich dieser Brief auf den Behrschen Roman *Dritte Söhne* beziehen. Ob dieser Roman je gedruckt worden ist, ist meiner Ansicht nach zweifelhaft. Kayser¹¹

⁹ Gerstäcker erwähnt diesen Namen in den *Ausgewählten Werken*, *Zweite Volks- und Familien-Ausgabe* von Dietrich Theden, Jena, Hermann Costenoble, 1887-1890, Serie II, Band 10, S. 207.

¹⁰ Maschinenschrift, The Johns Hopkins University Library, Baltimore, 1931.

¹¹ Christian Gottlob Kayser, Vollständiges Bücher-Lexicon, Leipzig.

erwähnt wohl den Roman *Auf fremder Erde*,¹² bringt aber keine Erwähnung eines anderen Romans von ihm in späteren Jahren.

Auerbach findet zweimal Erwähnung in Gerstäckers Briefen an Costenoble. Das Verhältnis zwischen den beiden Dichtern scheint zu der Zeit, aus der diese Briefe stammen, ein recht freundschaftliches gewesen zu sein. Am 11. Dezember 1861 berichtet Gerstäcker, dass er ein Exemplar seines *Kunstreiters* Auerbach überreicht habe, der augenblicklich bei ihm weile. Im nächsten Briefe (15. Dezember 1861) schreibt Gerstäcker, dass Auerbach ihm vorgeschlagen hätte, den Titel eines Artikels, *Der Rückmarsch aus dem Amazonengebiet*, umzuändern, und zwar auf *Achtzehn Monate in Südamerika und seinen deutschen Colonien*, unter welchem Titel es dann später auch im Jahre 1862 in Buchform erschien.

Im Briefe vom 5. Oktober 1866 empfiehlt Gerstäcker den von Appellationsrat Ewald aus Gotha geschriebenen Roman *Nach fünfzehn Jahren* an Costenoble. Er schreibt über Ewald und sein Werk:

Neulich schrieb mir Appellationsrath Ewald aus Gotha, dass er Ihnen sein Manuscript, *Nach fünfzehn Jahren* zum Verlag geschickt habe. Ich war die Veranlassung, dass ein paar Bruchstücke daraus in der *Gartenlaube* abgedruckt wurden, um den Author mehr bekannt zu machen. Die Erzählungen sind meisterhaft geschrieben. Ewald hat ein besonderes Geschick psychologische Conflicte zu schildern. Ich habe das ganze Manuscript von Anfang bis Ende durchgelesen, sogar kleine Aenderungen darin gemacht und halte es für ein vortreffliches Buch.¹³

Der Name eines gewissen Damian von Schütz¹⁴ ist im Briefe vom 20. Mai 1867 erwähnt:

¹² Kayser, Bd. 15, S. 501.

¹³ Die Veröffentlichung dieses Werkes wird in Kayser erwähnt. Bd. 17, S. 278.

¹⁴ Kuno Damian Schütz zu Holzhausen, geboren am 15. Februar 1825 zu Tamberg in Nassau, gestorben am 23. Juni 1883 zu Bensheim a./B. Gerstäcker erwähnt ihn in *Achtzehn Monate in Südamerika und dessen deutschen Colonien*, Volks- und Familien-Ausgabe, Band xiv. Er traf letzteren in Peru. Es war Schütz, der die ersten deutschen Auswanderer nach Peru brachte. Gerstäcker verteidigt ihn gegen die Anklage des Menschenverkaufs, dessen Schütz in Deutschland beschuldigt wurde, und stellt ihm auf Grund der Aussagen aus dem Munde von Auswanderern das beste Zeugnis aus. D. v. Schütz' grösster Fehler, Gerstäckers Meinung nach, war, dass er die Versprechen der peruanischen Regierung zu ernst nahm und an sie zu fest glaubte. S. 308 ff. Dazu vergleiche *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 33, S. 133.

Gleichzeitig hat Damian v. Schütz die Anfrage an mich gestellt, wo er einen ordentlichen Verleger für seine Reiseschilderungen fände. D. v. Schütz war seine halbe Lebenszeit in Süd-Amerika und kennt das Land aus dem Grunde. Er schreibt auch recht gut.

Am Schluss sei es erlaubt, eine Stelle aus seinen Werken anzuführen, die, aus den fünfziger Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts stammend, uns klar zeigt, wie Gerstäcker die literarischen Verhältnisse der damaligen Zeit beurteilte. Es ist dies eine Zeit, wo die Poesie mehr oder weniger zum Spielball der Politik geworden ist und ihre Eigenexistenz verloren hat. An dieser Stelle heisst es:

Unsere ganze Poesie ist zum Teufel gegangen, und die wenigen Dichter, die noch bei uns wie von der Nacht überraschte Tagfalter herumflattern, werfen sich aus lauter Verzweiflung auf das Trostloseste und Unfruchtbarste, was es, so lange die Welt steht, für Poesie nur gegeben hat—auf die Politik.¹⁵

Gerstäcker ist also gegen eine politische Betätigung des Dichters und stimmt in seinem Urteil mit dem Goethes überein, der in seinen Gesprächen mit Eckermann sagt:

Sowie ein Dichter politisch wirken will, muss er sich einer Partei hingeben, und sowie er dieses thut, ist er als Dichter verloren,

oder, in derselben Verbindung:

Als Mensch und Bürger wird der Dichter sein Vaterland lieben, aber das Vaterland seines poetischen Wirkens sei das Gute, Edle, Schöne.¹⁶

Zum Vergleich sei ebenfalls eine Stelle aus Heines Werken angeführt. Der ältere Heine sagt Ähnliches in seiner Vorrede zu *Atta Troll*, wo es heisst:

Der leere Kopf pochte jetzt mit Fug auf sein volles Herz, und die Gesinnung war Trumpf.¹⁷

A. J. PRAHL

The Johns Hopkins University

¹⁵ *Reisen*, Serie II, Bd. x, S. 500.

¹⁶ Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*, März 1832.

¹⁷ *Heines Werke* von Ernst Elster, Zweite Ausgabe, Bd. III, S. 20.

A PREDECESSOR OF MOBY-DICK

When Herman Melville gathered together the library of whaling which was to go into the making of *Moby-Dick* he included Joseph C. Hart's anonymous *Miriam Coffin, or the Whale-Fishermen*,¹ a book which possibly helped form the plot of the later and greater novel. *Miriam Coffin* is a complex story of Nantucket during the Revolution. It deals with the title character and her ambitious financial projects; a sort of "glove and lion" story, in which the sympathy is with the lady; and an adventurous whaling voyage.

The whaling voyage to the South Seas occupies only two chapters (nine and ten) of the second volume, but it is of considerable interest. A young man, Thomas Starbuck, sails on the *Leviathan* despite the prophecy of a half-breed squaw that he is to die in a whale's jaws. The *Leviathan* joins the *Grampus*, they visit the "Enchanted Islands" or Gallipagos, then separate, the *Grampus* is attacked by savages, they unite and together lower against a school of whales. Starbuck is beset by premonitions, but enters a boat which ignores the school and sets out after the leader, a monster "of prodigious size" which leads his pursuer "a tiresome chase." The whale sounds, comes up under the boat with open jaws, and Starbuck tumbles into the "living tomb" in fulfillment of the prophecy. The boat and crew are driven into the air by a stroke of the animal's tail. The sequel is worth quoting in full:

The unfortunate crew were rescued in time to witness the last agonies of the desperate whale, which, like Samson crushing the temple in his might, dealt death and destruction on all sides, while he himself was overwhelmed in the general ruin.

The animal, blind with rage, and feeling the sting of the death-wound in his heart, whirled round the ships, in irregular circles, for a short time, and then descended. The crews lay upon their oars, watching where he would next appear, while the ships were hove to, to await the result.

Suddenly a mighty mass emerged from the water, and shot up perpendicularly, with inconceivable velocity, into the air. It was the whale;—and the effort was his last expiring throe!—He fell dead;—but in his descent, he pitched headlong across the bows of the *Grampus*, and, in one fell swoop, carried away the entire fore-part of the vessel!

The crew escaped, by throwing themselves into boats alongside, and rowing quickly off. The gallant ship instantly filled with water, and settled away from their sight.

¹ Two vols. New York, 1834.

These are the concluding sentences of the chapter, and nothing more is said of the voyage until, after an intervening section, an account is given of the *Leviathan's* return.

There are two things about the story which deserve particular notice: first, that the account of a whaling voyage is brought to a sudden conclusion by the dramatic sinking of a ship by an unusually large whale; and, second, that the drama of the event is intensified by coupling it with the fulfillment of a prophecy. Melville was certainly impressed by this section of the story, for he chose the first sentence and a half from the third paragraph quoted above for reproduction among the "Extracts" which preface *Moby-Dick*. This, with his use of the similar narrative technique of a dramatic conclusion intensified by prophecy,² makes it only reasonable to suppose that *Miriam Coffin* had a not insignificant part in the making of *Moby-Dick*.

The *Grampus* also appears incidentally in *Moby-Dick*; but the use of that appropriate name for a whaling ship is of no more significance than the common use of Quaker Pelegs, and of Coffins, Folgers, Starbucks, Macys, and Colemans—all good Nantucket names which serve to give an air of verisimilitude to both books.

Pomona College

LEON HOWARD

AN UNDISCOVERED BIT OF VERSE BY LONGFELLOW

In the library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Massachusetts, there is a hitherto undiscovered bit of verse written by Longfellow. It is found in an old Valentine. The style and design of the Valentine indicate that it was printed toward the last of Longfellow's life. The verse is printed in a gaudy, inexpensive lace Valentine. There is no maker's name on it. The verse is as follows:

THE RIVER

Thou hast taught me, silver river,
Many a lesson deep and long;
Thou hast been a generous giver,
I can give thee but a song.

² It might be worth recalling that Elijah and the Parsee were not the only prophets in *Moby-Dick*; a "squaw" had foretold that Ahab's name "would somehow prove prophetic" (chap. xvi).

Oft in sadness and in illness
 I have watched thy current glide,
 Till the beauty of its stillness
 Overflowed me like a tide.
 And in better hours and brighter,
 When I saw thy waters gleam,
 I have felt my heart grow lighter
 And leap onward with thy stream.

Longfellow.

This verse is not included in any of the collections of the works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

ESTHER C. AVERILL

5 Rupert Street,
 Worcester, Mass.

DANTE NOTES

I. "THE LAKE OF THE HEART" (*Inf.*, I, 20)

When Dante, lost and frightened, saw the first beams of the morning sun upon the hilltop, he was somewhat reassured; he says:

Allor fu la paura un poco queta
 che nel lago del cor m'era durata
 la notte ch'io passai con tanta pieta. (*Inf.*, I, 19-21.)

The figure of the "lake of the heart" has been understood by practically all the commentators to refer to a lake of blood; and Dante's own expression in *Rim.*, CIII, 45-7,¹ has been cited, among others, as confirmatory.

But while the picture of a lake of blood is by no means off color in the *Divine Comedy*,² there is a passage in the *Rime dubbie* which

¹ "E 'l sangue, ch'è per le vene disperso, Fuggendo corre verso Lo cor, che 'l chiama; ond'io rimango bianco."

² *E. g.*, there is the well-known passage in *Inf.*, x, 86, which refers to the Battle of Montaperti as having "l'Arbia colorata in rosso"; while Canto IX of *Par.* may almost be said to make a feature of similar concepts: 55 f.: "la bigoncia Che ricevesse il sangue ferrarese"; 92 f.: "la terra ond'io fui. Che fè del sangue suo già caldo il porto"; and very likely also 46 f.: "Padova al palude Cangerà l'acqua che Vicenza bagna." In support of this interpretation of the last passage may be offered the following two Biblical parallels (which, to my knowledge, have not hitherto been adduced), both punishments for obstinacy and neglect of duty: *Exod.*,

strongly suggests quite a different interpretation. Vss. 8-9 of III, 5, have the same phrase: "una saetta, che m' asciuga il lago *Del cor* . . ."; and this is explained in the prose exposition which follows as meaning "una saetta calda di tanto ardore, ch' asciuga il lago delle *lagrime* del mio cuore; perchè s'io non posso venire a torre quella che promessa mi fu, non è meraviglia se mia vita si converte in lagrime, che veramente si possono chiamar lago."³

This meaning, "lake of *tears*," really does seem to fit in better than the usual interpretation with Dante's condition at the beginning of his desperate journey: he twice refers to his *weeping* with fear, before Vergil reassures him by promising to rescue him, first in describing his terror at the she-wolf, vss. 55-7 ("qual è quei . . . Che'n tutt' i suoi pensier *piange* e s'attrista"); and then in the clause of vs. 92 ("poi che *lagrimar* mi vide").

The thought of tears as welling up from the heart is a widespread conception, however unscientific; certainly poets have exploited the idea often.⁴ There is an interesting exposition of the *modus operandi* of this phenomenon, in the *Libro di Sidrach*, which is about contemporary with Dante's last years; as well as a curious verbal and conceptual analogy with the simile which immediately follows the *terzina* that comes after our "lago del cor": ". . . lo cuore che è tenero e puro, incontanente che ode cosa che gli dispiaccia, si la pensa e *guata*" (cf. *Inf.*, I, 24: "si volge a l'acqua

VII, 17-20, esp. 19: "Dixit quoque Dominus ad Moysen: Dic ad Aaron: Tolle virgam tuam, et extende manum tuam super aquas Aegypti, et super fluvios eorum, et rivos, ac *paludes*, et omnes lacus aquarum, ut *revertantur in sanguinem*; et sit *cruor* in omni terra Aegypti, tam in ligneis vasis" (cf. "bigoncia" of Dante's vs. 55) "quam in saxeis" (cf. also *Psalm.*, LXXVII, 44; CIV, 29); *II Mach.*, XII, 16: "Et capta civitate per Domini voluntatem, innumerabiles caedes fecit, ita ut *adjacens stagnum* stadiorum duorum latitudinis, *sanguine* interfectorum *fluere* videretur." Furthermore, the verb *cangiare* (*cambiare*) is used of changing *color* in *Inf.*, III, 101; and in *Purg.*, XXXIII, 6 ("a la croce si cambiò Maria"), it is even used without the object "colore," in that sense, as the context shows: *ibid.*, 9 ("colorata come foco").

³ *Rim. dub.*, III, 7.—Torraca, in his Commentary, quoted this passage from the verse part; but, apparently, did not think to look ahead into the prose explanation, and so remained undisturbed in his acceptance of the usual interpretation.

⁴ It is the main theme, for example, of the sonnet by Rustico di Filippo which begins: "Amor, onde vien l'aqua, che lo core Algli occhi, senza mai rifinar, manda?"

perigliosa e guata"); "e sale l'acqua della sua tenerezza suso agli occhi; allora piange e getta l'acqua fuori, per travaglio e per angoscia, che à il cuore."⁵

II. APOLLO AND MARSYAS (*Par.*, I, 19-21)

Midway in the invocation to Apollo with which the *Paradiso* is introduced comes the *terzina*:

Entra nel petto mio, e spira tue
 sì come quando Marsia traesti
 de la vagina de le membra sue.

In the coupling here of the imperative, "spira," with the Marsyas myth there is a difficulty which many commentators seem not to have sensed, while others resort to rather tortuous paraphrasings; but which is a serious problem, in fact, if we understand Dante to have had that conception of the story which is standard. During that famous contest of skill Marsyas played upon the reed pipe which had been thrown away by Minerva; but Apollo's instrument was his beloved lyre. The words "breathe thou in such wise as when thou drewest Marsyas," etc., then, should mean something like: "inspire me so that my poetical (musical) ability may equal thine during the contest with Marsyas."¹ But the plain and unescapable intention of the Poet is not that at all, apparently; the words say explicitly: "breathe *as* [thou didst breathe] *when*" the contest with Marsyas took place; and, that being the fact, it is surprising how many of the expositors have allowed themselves to commit the absurdity of paraphrasing: "inspire me as when thou didst flay Marsyas," or: "speak [by my mouth] as when," etc. Certainly Apollo did not inspire Marsyas; and we are not told that he made any remarks at the time, either; his deed spoke louder than any words could have done.

⁵ *Il libro di Sidrach* (ed. by A. Bartoli; Bologna, 1868), p. 220. Is not the same concept present in *Joan.*, XIX, 34: "Sed unus militum lancea latus ejus aperuit, et continuo exivit sanguis, et aqua"? The Bible expositors have been much puzzled over this.

¹ Buti, for example, did his level best to get continuity and sense out of the passage, *viz.*: "Senso: Inspirami in modo, che io sia atto a cantare con quella potente dolcezza che tu spiegasti allorquando, provocato da Marsia a chi meglio suonava, o egli la cornamusa, o tu la cetra, tu di lunga mano il vincesti."

The real explanation, I am convinced, is quite different; namely, that Dante understood that Apollo too played a *reed* during the contest; and that the verb "spira" in our passage, while used primarily as a call for *inspiration*, also, by an easy shift of aspect, suggested, or was deliberately planned to connect up with, the idea of *breathing* into the reed pipe, in order to draw from it the sweet sounds; sweet to all but the presumptuous Marsyas, to whom they meant divine unmasking, just and terrible punishment; tones of righteous indignation and denunciation such as Dante, with divine aid, now hoped to utter against the profaners of God's majesty. And my grounds for such a belief are far from arbitrary. For in none of the authorities for the details of the Marsyas story with which we may reasonably expect Dante to have been familiar, so far as I have been able to discover, is it at all clear that Apollo was not also playing on a reed. Ovid, *Metam.*, VI, 383-85, says, concerning the musical instrument(s) used, only: ". . . satyri remiscitur alter, Quem Tritoniaca Latous harundine victum Adfecit poena"; Lucan, III, 205 f., gives no hint that Apollo used a different instrument from Marsyas's;² Statius, *Theb.*, II, 666, has: "Foeda Celaenaea committere proelia buxo"; Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, V, 29, 106, says: "Ubi certavit tiliarum cantu cum Apolline, Aulocrene est."³

It would, of course, be rash to affirm that no authorities were available from which Dante could have got the true form of the myth in question; but as an evidence that it is probable that the Middle Ages, in general, understood that Apollo too was piping on a reed, it should be noted that our own Chaucer also seems to have understood it in the same way: in the *House of Fame*, III, 139-42, he not only makes Marsyas out a woman, but also leads one to believe that he thought Apollo's instrument and Marsyas's to have been of the same type:

And Marcia that lost her skin,
Bothe in face, body, and chin,
For that she wolde envyen, lo!
To *pypen bet then* Apollo.

²" . . . quae tua munera, Pallas, Lugent damnatae Phoebo victore Celaenae."

³Cf. Livy, XXXVIII, 13, 6: ". . . et Marsyas arnis, haud procul a Maeandri fontibus oriens, in Maeandrum cadit, famaue ita tenet, Celaenis Marsyan cum Apolline tiliarum cantu certasse."

If this be the explanation, there is no need for straining at the interpretation of Dante's words. Let Apollo inspire him, that his own voice may sound forth in triumphant strains of stern judgment, even as had Apollo's divine music when he breathed into the "vocal reed."

H. D. AUSTIN

University of Southern California

LE SACRIFICE OF LECONTE DE LISLE

In the *Poèmes et poésies* of Leconte de Lisle, 1855, is a sonnet entitled *Le Sacrifice*. In his *Derniers poèmes*, 1895, is a 16-line poem with the same title, composed, according to "Jean Dornis," in 1894. In the two poems, only two lines, 8 and 14 of 1895, are absolutely identical, though there are resemblances in other lines. Of the later poem, Estève says: "Les derniers vers, ou à peu près, qu'il écrivit, ce sont des vers d'amour, ces strophes du *Sacrifice* . . . où il souhaite de souffrir et de mourir pour celle qu'il aime." (*Leconte de Lisle, l'homme et l'oeuvre*, p. 218). Does a comparison of the two poems substantiate this conclusion?

The 1855 poem, which seems clearly to treat of love, runs as follows:

Pour atteindre aux sommets dont la hauteur accable
Il faut que le pied saigne aux angles du rocher:
Les dieux aiment le sang. Rien ne les peut toucher
Que le supplice offert du juste ou du coupable.
C'est la rigide loi du monde périssable.
Quand l'homme, un jour, du ciel voulut se rapprocher,
L'holocauste sanglant fuma sur le bûcher,
Et l'odeur en monta vers la nue implacable.
Nous n'avons plus de dieux, plus d'expiations;
Mais dans nos cœurs en proie aux sombres passions
L'amère volupté de souffrir reste encore;
Et je voudrais, victime et sacrificateur,
Répandant à tes pieds amour, haine et douleur,
Baigner de tout mon sang l'autel où je t'adore!

The 1895 poem ends:

Mais si le ciel est vide et s'il n'est plus de Dieux,
L'amère volupté de souffrir reste encore,
Et je voudrais, le cœur abîmé dans ses yeux,
Baigner de tout mon sang l'autel où je l'adore!

In this version, the first twelve lines deal solely with the idea of literal and bloody sacrifice; the 14th might refer either to that or to love; it is possible to construe 15-16 as love-verses. But it is to be noted that in this later version the poet omits the word "amour," that hearts are no longer "en proie aux sombres passions," that "tes pieds" becomes "ses yeux," and that at the climax "je t'adore" becomes "je l'adore." In the 1855 preface, Leconte de Lisle says remorsefully that this book "n'est que trop personnel." The most personal love-poems in it, *Les bois, lavés par les rosées*, and *Tre fila d'oro*, were never reprinted. The idea of sacrificial blood, so stressed in the first twelve lines, was dear to Leconte de Lisle, as appears in his fine poem *Le vœu suprême* (*Poèmes barbares*). The concluding lines of the 1895 *Sacrifice* might well refer to a personified image of Sacrifice, rather than to a loved woman. I believe that the poet, in his old age, deliberately changed his love-poem into a hymn to Sacrifice, and that "l'amère volupté de souffrir" concerns man's struggle with fate rather than the sorrow of love.

GEO. N. HENNING

George Washington University

UN RÉSUMÉ DE QUELQUES ANNÉES DE LA VIE DE BUFFON. LETTRE INÉDITE

La lettre¹ de Buffon que nous reproduisons ici, et que nous croyons inédite, n'apprendra rien de vraiment nouveau sur cet écrivain. On sait depuis longtemps déjà qu'il intenta un procès à son père, qu'il travailla dans le Département de la Marine, qu'il devint Intendant du Jardin du Roi et Trésorier de l'Académie des Sciences. Cependant, on ne lira pas sans intérêt le récit de ces événements fait par le naturaliste lui-même. Cette lettre est belle d'ailleurs. C'est l'expression d'une amitié sincère et respectueuse qui mérite de venir s'ajouter, dans la correspondance publiée de Buffon, à d'autres souvenirs semblables.

¹ M. William Falls, professeur à l'Université de Maryland, a bien voulu nous signaler cette lettre qui appartient à la collection d'autographes (Simon Gratz) de la Société historique de Pensylvanie. Nous la croyons écrite entièrement de la main de Buffon, et nous la reproduisons intégralement en conservant l'orthographe de l'auteur.

A qui cette lettre fut-elle adressée? Il semble que ce soit à un habitant de Genève. Le M. Jallabert dont parle Buffon est vraisemblablement Jean Jallabert (1712 [13?]-1768), physicien genevois. Son nom se retrouvera en 1750 parmi ceux des personnes devant recevoir un exemplaire gratuit de l'*Histoire naturelle* lors de la distribution des trois premiers volumes de cet ouvrage.² Puis le destinataire de cette lettre avait contribué, semble-t-il, à "faire valoir" certains livres qu'il avait envoyés par la suite à Buffon, et qui étaient apparemment les œuvres de Jacques Bernoulli (1654-1705), mathématicien suisse. Or, Gabriel Cramer (1704-1752), savant genevois, et ami de Jean Jallabert, a donné en 1744 une édition des œuvres de ce mathématicien après avoir fait paraître deux ans plus tôt celles du frère, Jean Bernoulli (1667-1748).³ Il nous semblerait dès lors que cette lettre fut adressée à Gabriel Cramer. Notre conclusion paraît plus justifiée encore lorsqu'on voit que le correspondant de Buffon dont il est question ici s'intéressait à Leibniz, car Cramer devait publier en 1745 un ouvrage intitulé *Vir. cel. Guil. Leibnitii Joh. Bernoullii commercium philosophicum et mathematicum*.⁴

on ne peut pas avoir plus de tort avec quelqu'un mon très cher monsieur, que je me trouve en avoir avec vous aujourd'hui; depuis Le temps que vous avez commencé à avoir quelqu'amitié pour moy vous n'avez pas cessé de m'en donner des marques; ⁵ malgre mon silence et ma negligence apparente vous n'avez pas discontinué de m'aimer, vous ne scauries croire combien j'ai été sensible a toutes ces preuves de vos sentiments; puisque

² Cf. *Correspondance générale de Buffon*, XIII, 61 (cette correspondance fut publiée par Nadault de Buffon comme les volumes XIII et XIV de l'édition des œuvres de Buffon par J.-L. de Lanessan, Paris, Le Vasseur, 1884-1885, 14 vol. in-8).

³ Cf. Jean Senebier, *Histoire littéraire de Genève* . . . (Genève, chez Barde, Manget et compagnie, 1786, 3 vol. in-12), III, 109; et Albert de Montet, *Dictionnaire biographique des Genevois et des Vaudois* . . . (Lausanne, Georges Bridel, 1877, 2 vol. in-8), I, 212.

⁴ Cf. Senebier, *op. cit.*, p. 109; et Montet, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

⁵ En 1744, Buffon entretenait depuis longtemps des relations avec Cramer. Nous savons par la *Correspondance générale* (XIII, 56) du naturaliste que douze ans plus tôt il envoyait au Genevois des lettres et des livres. Les deux hommes se sont d'ailleurs connus personnellement, mais il est malaisé de déterminer la date de leur première rencontre. Une belle amitié les liait en 1748 après un séjour que Cramer venait de faire à Paris, et pendant lequel Buffon l'avait vu et estimé (*ibid.*, 56). S'étaient-ils déjà

vous avez eu assez de bonté pour ne me pas oublier dans le temps et le très longtemps que j'avois l'air de ne pas penser à vous, je suis persuadé que vous recevrez volontiers mes excuses. je puis vous assurer avant toutes choses que je n'ai pas cessé et que je ne cesserai jamais de vous être tendrement attaché. je vous demande pardon de ma conduite, mon cœur n'a aucune part à mon silence, il m'a mille fois parlé pour vous. Mais si vous saviez mon cher monsieur dans quel tourbillon d'affaires et d'occupations de toute espèce j'ai été entraîné depuis sept ou huit ans vous seriez bientôt disposé à oublier pour toujours mes mauvais procédés. permettez-moi en faveur de cette ancienne amitié qui m'est si cher de vous en faire un petit détail. il y a huit ans que Le ministre me donna ordre de travailler dans la marine, j'ai travaillé pendant trois ans à des choses pressantes et pressées qui ne m'ont pas laissé pendant tout ce temps ce précieux loisir qu'on emploie si agréablement pour soi et pour ses amis, j'ai ensuite été nommé à la place d'Intendant du jardin du Roy, nouvelle besogne et toute différente de celle que je venais d'achever, mais qui m'a jusqu'ici encore plus occupé, et dont j'espère que quelque jour vous voudrez bien vous assurer. Lorsque je ferai imprimer le catalogue historique d'un Cabinet immense de curiosités naturelles que j'ai mises en ordre, enfin on m'a donné il y a quelques mois la place de trésorier de l'Académie qui demande aussi du détail et de l'assiduité; mais tout cela n'est encore rien en comparaison des affaires de famille qui m'ont troublé, mon père a fait un second mariage qui m'a fait tort, il a fallu procéder, agir, plaider pour ne pas tout perdre et il n'y a pas longtemps que je suis tranquille à cet égard, pardonnez-moi tout ce détail mon cher monsieur ou plutôt prenez-le pour une preuve du désir sincère que j'ai d'être toujours du nombre de vos amis. je vous fais mes très humbles remerciements des beaux livres que vous avez eu la bonté de m'envoyer; j'ai reçu les ouvrages de M. Jean Bernoulli dans le temps et j'ai envoyé prendre hier ceux de Jacques chez David⁶ qui m'avait remis votre Lettre. tous ceux qui vous connaissent trouvent qu'il est fort heureux pour les sciences que vous vouliez bien vous occuper à faire valoir les ouvrages des autres; personne ne peut le faire avec plus de lumière et de

rencontrés? Nous ne pouvons l'affirmer. Le savant genevois avait quitté sa patrie en 1727 pour voyager une première fois en France et en d'autres pays de l'Europe, mais il ne semble pas avoir fait alors connaissance avec Buffon qui, à cette date, poursuivait encore ses études en province (cf. Senebier, *op. cit.*, p. 105; et la *Correspondance générale de Buffon*, XIII, 2-3). Senebier, d'ailleurs, en dressant la liste des Français avec qui le Genevois se lia pendant son premier séjour en France, ne mentionne pas le futur naturaliste. A en croire cet historien, Cramer et Buffon se seraient rencontrés en 1730 lors d'un voyage que celui-ci aurait fait à Genève (cf. Senebier, *op. cit.*, p. 107). Cela semble cependant peu probable. On ne trouve ailleurs aucune trace de ce voyage.

⁶ Ne serait-il pas question de Michel-Antoine David, dit David l'aîné, associé à l'entreprise de la publication de l'*Encyclopédie*? Cf. Joseph Le Gras, *Diderot et l'Encyclopédie* (Paris, Malfère, 1928), p. 35.

discernement, mais vous pouvés nous donner de si grandes choses de vous même que nous avons quelque regret au temps que vous n'employés pas pour vous. je vous dirai que la longue lettre que vous m'avés écrit en defense de Leibnitz m'a occupé pendant quelques jours et que je voulais vous envoyer il y a pres de trois ans une longue reponse, elle est plus de moitié faitte et depuis ce temps je n'ai pas eu le temps. je conviens avec vous de beaucoup de choses mais je crois que vous conviendrés avec moy de quelques autres. quoi qu'il en soit je soumettrai à votre jugement mes reflections des que j'aurai quelque Loisir, et je compte bien cultiver dans la suite votre amitié par une correspondance plus exacte. j'ai remis cette lettre à M. David l'aîné qui doit vous l'envoyer avec quelques petits livres que je vous supplie de recevoir. faites moy encore la grace d'assurer Mr. Jallabet [Jallabert] de mon attachement et croies moy je vous en supplie l'homme du monde qui vous est le plus entièrement dévoué. c'est dans ces sentiments que je serai toute ma vie mon cher monsieur votre tres humble et tres obeist. serviteur

Buffon

au jardin du Roy le 4^e Avril 1744

University of Maryland

MARGARET HERRING

GUEZ DE BALZAC AND TASSO

Guez de Balzac was an ardent admirer of Tasso and preferred him to other Italian writers. In his letters he urged his friends to read "la divine Ierusalem",¹ and he read passages from his own copy to his niece. "Faites-la tousjours souvenir," he writes to his sister, "que des quatre belles que je lui ay montrées dans mon Tasse, il n'y en a qu'une dont l'exemple luy soit propre [Sofronia]."²

Balzac's judgments on the *Gerusalemme liberata* have been cited in Dr. H. Vogler's dissertation.³ Except for the distasteful mingling of Christian and pagan elements and the over-refined verses of the Olindo-Sofronia episode, which are not "de la dignité du Poème héroïque", Balzac has only praise for Tasso's poem; he considers it "l'ouvrage le plus riche et le plus achevé qui se soit vu depuis le siècle d'Auguste."⁴ But Dr. Vogler omits all mention of Balzac's most interesting opinion of Tasso, shared by

¹ Cf. *Œuvres*, Paris, 1665, I, 346; *Entretiens*, 1600, p. 293.

² *Œuvres*, I, 316-317.

³ *Die literargeschichtlichen Kenntnisse und Urteile des Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac*. (Kiel diss.), Altona, 1906, p. 183.

⁴ *Œuvres*, II, 537-8, 626.

the majority of his *précieux* contemporaries, viz., that the *Gerusalemme* was an inexhaustible source of quotations. Balzac evidently read the poem pen in hand, jotting down lines and half lines which might later be used advantageously, or at least eruditely, in his letters and essays (the two are one for his generation). In his text, they lack utterly the freshness and spontaneity of Madame de Sévigné's quotations.⁵ "Voyez comme je suis soigneux de tenir ma promesse," he writes after having quoted Tasso, "et suivre votre exemple, en vous faisant de petits présents de belles fleurs cueillies au jardin des Muses, et cultivées par les plus habiles mains du Parnasse."⁶ This type of "italianism" is typical of the polite and learned society of the times. The largest collection of these somewhat desiccated "fleurs cueillies au jardin des Muses" is found in Balzac's letters to Conrart; they are nearly all from Italian gardens. Conrart knew very little Greek and Latin, but was well grounded in Italian and Spanish. Balzac, eager to please, restricts his show of erudition with this correspondent to the readily comprehensible, and writes:

Je me retranche aux Roses & aux Oeillets de vos grands amis le Pétrarque et le Tasse, dont les couleurs sont si vives, & l'odeur si bonne, qu'elles se conservent sans dechet, & dans leur propre terrior, & lors mesme qu'on les transplante."⁷

Since Dr. Vogler has identified few of the Italian quotations, the sources of which Balzac here indicates in a general way, it is perhaps worth while to give chapter and verse for those taken from Tasso, if for no other reason than to show the extent of this curious type of "influence". The exact references, supplementing the scanty remarks of Vogler, may be of interest to students of Balzac and of Tasso.⁸ In the following list of quotations, the reference at the left is to vol. I of Balzac's *Œuvres* (1665), that at the right to canto and verse of the *Gerusalemme liberata*.

⁵ Madame de Sévigné quotes certain verses from memory in a letter to her daughter, and adds: "Vous rajusterez ces vers; mais quand ils se trouvent au bout de la plume, il faut qu'ils passent." Cf. Clara Friedmann, "La coltura italiana di Madame de Sévigné," *Giornale storico*, LX, 1 sq.

⁶ *Lett. fam. à Chapelain*, Paris, 1659, p. 199.

⁷ *Œuvres*, I, 926.

⁸ Quotations from Petrarch, in addition to those mentioned by Vogler, may be found in Balzac's *Œuvres*, I, 939, 943, 944, 959, 965, 975, 987, 989, and *Lettres* (to Chapelain), ed. Tamisey de Larroque, 1873, p. 534.

- P. 399 Amando in te ciò, ch'altri invidia e teme
 Ama il valore, e volontario elegge
 Teco unirsi d'amore, se non di legge. II, 63
- 929 Sono i vezzi esca d'amore. II, 20
- 931 Nè cosa è mai che gli s'ardisca opporre. I, 75
- 932 Compagne elette a le fortune avverse. IV, 54
- 933 Ciò ch' ascolt' ogn' età, nulla l'estingua. I, 36
- 935 Nulla speme più resta, in van mi doglio. IV, 71
- 935 No 'l soffrir tu, nè già soffrir lo dei;
 Ma ciò che puoi dimostra, e ciò che sei. V, 22
- 938 A cui non è chi d'agguagliar si vante XVII, 31
- 939 tu me conoscer dei . . .
 E degno pur d'esser amato sei. XIX, 80
- 941 Onde haver posso aiuto. III, 65
- 943 E risuona più ch'uomo in sue parole. XIII, 52
- 944 Con quella man cui nessun pondo è grave. XIX, 36
- 944 Nò, nò, più non potrei, vinto mi chiamo XIII, 49
- 945 A giorno reo, notte più rea succede,
 E di peggior di lei, dopo lei vede. XIII, 53
- 946 Che l'Huom d'esser mortal, par che si sdegni,
 O nostra mente cupida, e superba! XV, 20
- 946 La fama ch' invaghisce à un dolce suono,
 Voi, superbi Mortali, e par si bella,
 E' un Echo, un sogno, anzi del sogno un'ombra,
 Ch' ad ogni, vento si dilegua, e sgombra. XIV, 63
- 946 . . . a chi più deggio
 Ceder homai? Se tu non sei, no'l veggio. V, 9
- 947 Pronta man, pensier fermo, animo audace. VIII, 65
- 948 Porge più di timor, che di speranza. V, 35
- 950 Degne d'un chiaro sol, degne d'un pieno
 Teatro, opre sarian si memorande. XII, 54
- 950 Huom che 'n amor m'è padre. XII, 6
- 952 Al cui valor' ogni vittoria è certa. II, 69
- 953 E già ne l'arti mie me stesso avanzi. IV, 24
- 954 Quindi l'ardir, quindi la speme nasce;
 Pur ch'ella mai non c'abbandoni e lasce,
 Poco dobbiam curar ch'altri ci manche. II, 85
- 954 Sfortunato silenzio! . . . XIX, 97
- 954 . . . come hai per uso,
 Mostri amico voler, e saggia mente. XIX, 130
- 954 Che di pietà m'insegna insolite arti. XIX, 112
- 956 E la difficoltà cresce le voglie. XIX, 75
- 956 E del periglio, e de l'opre campagno. II, 4
- 957 Huom ch'a l'alta fortuna agguaglia 'l merto. I, 41
- 957 Il mio desir, tu che puoi sol adempi. IV, 62
- 959 E' di se stesso a se fregio assai chiaro. II, 60
- 961 Risponderà con l'opre a l'alte spene
 Di lui concetta, & al comun desire. XIV, 26

963 Onde a ragion gl' è quel honor dovuto.	XIX, 117
964 E' tua mercede, e m'è l'onor gradito.	II, 81
965 E legge sia ciò che te sol comandi.	II, 48
965 Mira con quante forze il Ciel t'aiti!	XVIII, 92
967 Nuovo favor del Ciel in lui riluci, Che 'l fa grande, & augusto, oltra il costume.	XX, 7
969 . . . o divien nulla, o nulla appare.	XV, 8
969 . . . risuona Un non sò che di flebile e soave Ch' al cor mi scende, & ogni duol'ammorza.	XII, 66
972 Apprendete pietà quinci, ô mortali!	XVIII, 89
972 L'ultimo don ch' io ti domando, è questo.	XIX, 110
972 Consolar il mio duol di tue parole.	XIX, 108
973 Tanto di gloria a la feminea mano Concesse il cielo! . . .	XX, 32
974 Bellezze incorruttibili e divine!	XVIII, 12
976 Torbide notti, e tenebrosi giorni Misero vivo . . .	XIX, 83
978 Quella che non uccide, atterra almanco.	XIX, 42
978 Può forse al Ciel' agevolar la strada.	XIX, 118
981 E non già tal ch'a lui resistere possi.	III, 14
984 E vive ne le vene occulto foco Che pascendo, le strugge a poco a poco.	XIII, 61
985 Quest'è quel che più inaspra i miei martiri.	IV, 10
985 E già morto a' dilette, al duol sol vivo.	IV, 36
986 Vengon da te le medicine, e i mali.	IV, 92
986 Esca aggiungendo a l'infiammato petto.	V, 25
986 Et hora, & dopo un corso ancor di lustri Inflammati ne sian gl'animi illustri.	VIII, 37
988 Tanto vigor di mente, e di parole.	XVII, 8
988 Quanto egli può, tanto voler osasse.	VIII, 71
988 . . . A che pugnar col fato? Nè più che 'l Ciel si voglia amiam la vita.	X, 37
989 Così congiunta la concorda coppia Ne la fida union le forze adoppia.	XX, 35
989 Questo è saver, questa è felice vita; Sì l'insegna Natura, e sì l'addita.	XIV, 64

The works of Balzac contain several other quotations from Tasso, but their provenance is indicated by the context and they have been mentioned by Vogler.⁹

CHANDLER B. BEALL

University of Oregon

⁹ *Loc. cit.* V.'s reference to I, 620, should read: II, 620.

DRYDEN AND THE COLLEGES

The problem of John Dryden's designs in regard to the various Oxford colleges has been reopened to discussion by Professor Louis Bredvold's article in these pages, April, 1931.¹ Therein he indicated a certain unwillingness to accept my suggestion, first advanced in *The London Mercury*, that the laureat's many Oxford prologues and epilogues were composed partly in view of securing the good will of the colleges toward some future academic preferment, and that his protracted campaign to this end came almost to success in 1687, when rumors were in circulation of his probable appointment to the Presidency of Magdalen College.² After some question whether these reports were anything more than long-distance gossip, Professor Bredvold proceeded apparently to reinforce my suggestion by producing another report of the same year, connecting Dryden with the post of Warden of All Souls. But this also he would distrust on the strength of certain contemporary documents.

A careful survey of Dryden's various addresses and the addition of new evidence has convinced me of the essential truth of my position. The poet's interest in the Oxford colleges seems to have been one of long continuance. Even before rumor began to connect them with his name, there is the likelihood that he had for some time contemplated a position of honor at Oxford as the best solution to his financial and social difficulties, and the way of life most consonant with his temper. His addresses to the university public, were they to be quoted in full, might afford fairly convincing evidence. A single remark, however, from an Oxford epilogue of 1674 will suffice:

Oft has our poet wish'd, this happy seat
Might prove his fading Muse's last retreat:
I wonder'd at his wish, but now I find
He here sought quiet and content of mind
Which noiseful towns, and courts can never know,
And only in the shades like laurels grow.
Youth, ere it sees the world, here studies rest,
And age returning thence concludes it best.³

¹ *MLN.*, XLVI, 218 ff.

² *London Mercury*, XXI, 421.

³ *The Poetical Works of John Dryden*. Ed. Noyes, Cambridge (1908), p. 76.

That so downright a declaration has been overlooked by Dryden's biographers may perhaps be explained by the contradictory nature of other remarks. Thus, in a letter to Rochester, probably of the preceding year, he had written in another vein:

Because I deal not in satyr, I have sent your Lordship a Prologue and Epilogue which I made for our players, when they went down to Oxford. I hear they have succeeded; and by the event Your Lordship will judge how easy 'tis to pass any thing upon an University, and how gross flattery the learned will endure.⁴

If we were to attempt, however, to sound the duplicities of John Dryden in these early years, we might never touch bottom. In a choice between the tone of his Oxford speeches and the arrant sycophancy of this particular letter to Rochester, one might better be advised to accept the honesty of the former.

And why, in this immediate concern, should Dryden not have been sincere? From the moment that he allied himself to the Royal Society, through a long succession of letters, dedications, and critical tracts, he seems consciously to have espoused the world of learning, frequently at the expense of that of poetry. This may be explained as merely the intellectual interest of an active mind. Nor, at first glance, does an epilogue appear a suitable medium for the advancement of his ambition. Let it be remembered, however, that Oxford was surprisingly interested in the contemporary theatre, even amongst highest circles, and particularly in the prologues and epilogues of Dryden, if their number and the notable collections of them in the various college libraries be admissible evidence. He was the recognized master of the form; his audience deeply attentive. But let us leave this area of conjecture and look to 1687, when Dryden's designs, by the shift of politics, had become sufficiently clear to most observers.

It is the rumor from All Souls that merits our first attention. On January 5, 1686/7 died Dr. Thomas James, Warden of that college, and by February 1 the new appointment had been made,—not, however, before the name of Dryden had been suggested.

Mr. Leopold Finch is by the Queen's interest, his brother marrying one of the maids of honour, stept in to be Warden of All Souls College, Dr. James dying soon after you went hence, to the disappointment of Dr. Plot, for

⁴ *The Prose Works of John Dryden*. Ed. Malone (1800), i, ii, 11-12.

whom Walker made all his interest, and of Dryden, for whom others did stickle.⁵

After brief quotation of this sentence from a letter to Robert Harley, Professor Bredvold dismissed it principally by reason of a letter from the poet himself to Etherege in Ratisbon, February 16, in which the former alleged complete political idleness. It was perhaps with undue confidence in Dryden's ingenuousness that Professor Bredvold produced this as evidence. Ratisbon was far across Europe, and in that day even gossip traveled slowly. Happily, however, we have evidence that is more decisive.

Since it is of some pertinence to the biography of Dryden, we may first glance at the various candidates and their supporters. In the front rank with a nomination, even before the death of the old Warden, was the Catholic Master of University College, Obadiah Walker. A letter in the Tanner MSS. remarks:

we fear that our over-the-way friend Mr. Walker will make him a successor, and by all that we can guess Mr. Stapleton of our House is the person for whom he designs to get a Mandate.⁶

The guess appears to have been without warrant; as we have seen, it was Dr. Plot, the well-known antiquarian and papist, who was Walker's ultimate candidate. Elsewhere, we read that other active rivals for the post were Dr. Tindal of All Souls and Dr. Watson, afterwards Bishop of St. David's. The names are of interest as showing the stature of the men with whom Dryden was in competition. "Finch got the start of them." Leopold Finch had everything in his favor except good character. He had been something of a rake in the days of 1681, when breaking windows and committing other misdemeanors was still in favor; his father was a personal friend of Charles II; an Emperor and a King had been his sponsors at the font; his uncle was Lord Chancellor, and he himself an extraordinarily suave politician. It is to Finch that we owe conclusive evidence that Dryden was not only his very definite but perhaps most dangerous rival. Writing for final approbation of his appointment to Archbishop Sancroft, February 1, 1686/7, Finch elaborated as follows upon his disinterested motives in standing for the post:

⁵ *Hist. MSS. Comm., Portland MSS., III, 397.*

⁶ Montague Burrows: *Worthies of All Souls*, London (1874), p. 290. Cf. pp. 287-304.

A little before that very good man, our late Warden dyed, I receiv'd a letter in *Kent* from a great hand at Court, which inform'd me of the danger he was then in, and further assur'd me, that though his successor was not yet named, yet that it was already determin'd, that his Wardenship should be dispos'd of by Mandate. He was pleas'd to press me to attempt the getting of it, affirming, that if I had it not, an actuall Papist would; so that if I had any concern for the well fare of the College and University, he thought I stood obliged to endeavour the keeping out persons so unqualified for the service of either.⁷

Hence it was that he entered into the race and finally was possessed of the mandate, "for which so many great interests had so fiercely contested."⁸ His letter continues with an explanation of the various arguments advanced, "as he understood," by the fellows of All Souls for ratifying the King's order. If, instead, they had proceeded to a formal election, a lawyer was likewise to be nominated and both were to be sent up to his grace of Canterbury for approbation of one or the other. At this point Finch makes the significant addition, which seems finally authoritative as coming from the successful candidate:

the King, seeing they had left it in another's power to supersede his Mandate, by legally confirming another man, would be sure to give a new Mandate to a third over the others heads, and that such one would be likely to be of Mr. *Dryden's* sort, since he so lately stood so faire to preside over them.⁹

Beyond that it is all conjecture. Dryden possibly may have been the King's original candidate, but because of the latter's unwillingness to press a catholic against so great an opposition, he allowed the post to go by default to Finch. At least one might so read between the lines.

A single episode of Dryden's career, hitherto lacking a certain degree of pertinancy, is all that is required to complete the story. It is recounted in a letter, of January 27, 1686/7, from the Bishop of Carlyle:

The Warden of All Souls being lately dead he is succeeded by Mr. Finch, son of the Earl of Winchelsea, one of the fellows of that College, and an ingenious young gentleman; who lately meeting with Mr. Dryden in a coffee house in London, publicly before all the company wished him much

⁷ (J. Gutch) *Collectanea Curiosa*, Oxford (1781), II, 49. "A Letter from the Hon. L. W. Finch to the Archbishop of Canterbury."

⁸ *Ib.* p. 51.

⁹ *Ib.* p. 52.

joy of his *new* religion. "Sir," said Dryden, "you are very much mistaken; my religion is the *old* religion." "Nay" replied the other, "whatever it be in itself I am sure 'tis new to you, for within these 3 days you had no religion at all."¹⁰

Dryden's answer appears to have lain elsewhere.

By reason then of the authenticity of this report from All Souls, it becomes the more likely that there was a certain degree of truth in the subsequent rumor of his prospective nomination to the Presidency of Magdalen. It bears the likeness of a second push by his friends. There the battle was even more violent, and again Dryden if proposed was deflected from his object sometime between June and August, 1687. He was not, however, through with Magdalen College when finally the appointment was given to Bishop Samuel Parker. Unnoticed in the biographies of Dryden is the fact that he was at one certain point intimately concerned with the political upheaval in that college. A letter of December 31, 1687, from the King to the Bishop of Oxford issues this mandate:

Whereas there are several Fellowships now vacant in our College of St. Mary Magdalen, Our Will and Pleasure is that you forthwith admit our trusty and well-beloved Richard Compton Thomas Fairfax Edward Merideth John Dryden Philip Lewis &c . . .¹¹

By diverse accounts this John Dryden was admitted fellow in January, and stricken from the college Buttery Book after the revolution, October 25, 1688. There can be little doubt but that this was the second son of the poet, his nomination definitely a mark of Dryden's active and continuing interest in the colleges. May not his son's appointment have been something even in the nature of a sop, after his recent disappointment?

But as though there were not enough, two further rumors remain to substantiate the general design. The first is without date; the other would seem to indicate Dryden's final move of 1687-8. Vague reference to both appeared in an anonymous satire of 1689, entitled *The Address of John Dryden, Laureat To His Highness the Prince of Orange*. This poem purported to be an *apologia pro vita sua*, spoken by Dryden himself and tracing the innumerable shifts

¹⁰ *Hist. MSS. Comm.* Le Fleming MSS., 12th Rept. VIII, 202.

¹¹ The Rev. J. R. Bloxam, *Magdalen College and James II*, Oxford (1886), p. 225. Cf. pp. 228, 231, 232, 265.

he was supposed to have employed in his progress from commonwealth man, to whig, to tory, to catholic, and ultimately to Moham-
medan, climax of the time-server:

When the bold *Crescent* lately attacku't the Cross,
Resolv'd the Empire of the World t'engross,
Had tottering *Vienna's* Walls but fail'd,
And *Turkey* over *Christendom* prevail'd,
Long e're this I had cross'd the *Dardanello*,
And sate the Mighty Mahomet's Hail Fellow,
Quitting my duller Hopes, the poor Renown
of *Eaton-College*, or a *Dublin-Gown*
And commenc'd Graduate of the Great *Divan*,
Had reign'd a more Immortal Musselman.¹²

Hence we have the first hint that Dryden, at some period of his career, was perhaps not without hope of becoming provost of Eton College. The suggestion recurred the following year in Tom Brown's satire, *The Late Converts Exposed*. After some passing allusion to the poet's former severity upon the priesthood, Brown remarked:

*But you I find, still continue your old humour, which we are to date from the year of the Hegira [namely from the flight of James], the loss of Eaton, or since Orders were refused you: whatever hangs out either Black or Green Colours, is presently your prize . . .*¹³

And so the matter rests without definite clue as to the year of the Eton adventure or any assurance as to its essential truth. But the significant fact remains, that by the time of the revolution the rumors concerning Dryden and the colleges had become cumulative. Their number indicates a general interest in his movements at what must have been regarded the crisis of his career.

A fourth report added to the other three perhaps seems slightly

¹² P. 5.

¹³ *The Late Converts Exposed: Or the Reasons of Mr. Bays' Changing his Religion. Part the Second*, London (1690), The Preface. Brown's difficult allusion to colors may be explained by a speech from *Don Sebastian* (1690), Act IV, p. 99, where referring to the Mohammedan priestly costume it is remarked: "Our *Mufti's* is a Green coat, and the *Christian's* is a black coat: and we must wisely go by the ears, whether green or black shall sweep our spoils." Dryden's own Mufti, then, may have suggested the various Mohammedan sequels to his fortune. Brown clearly had the play in mind.

preposterous. Nevertheless, in view of the events of 1688, it assumes a degree of authenticity. The allusion to a Dublin-Gown, in the anonymous *Address of John Dryden*, raises an interesting, if by itself fruitless, point of conjecture. What exactly was the poet's concern with Ireland? Did he perhaps contemplate toward the end of his career some preferment overseas as a final mode of escape? A partial answer to these questions rests in two manuscript poems recently discovered in the British Museum. In one handwriting and, by their style, apparently the frenzy of a single poet, the first goes under the illuminating title, *On Doctor Dryden coming over to be provost of Trinity Colledge*, the second merely *Another Satyr on the Same*.¹⁴ Unhappily there is little more of biographical interest to be gathered than by the titles. But these satires, if they may be called such, at least serve to verify the place, to cast a curious light into the protestant mind of the revolution, and to supply some distorted criticism of John Dryden, the poet, as his fame had been refracted across the Irish sea.

The first opens with the thread-bare charge of atheism, in his case largely reechoed since the days of huffing Maximin:

Haile Rhyming Atheist may thy passage be
as boystrous as thy ranting poetry
may the just god, who doth command the seas
pickle in briny waves thy wither'd bayes
whilst the resenting seas conspire thy fall
and in thy fate serve their great Admirall
but if the milder god preserve they breath
doom'd to be lost by a dry hempen death
at thy approach let raging whirle-winds rise
and dismall lightning fill the troubl'd Skies,
such omen shou'd attend a libertine
then thou mightst brave the gods like Maximin,
hurle pointed daggers, at the starry throne
and lowdly tell the trembling gods theire owne
but with this difference.
he e're his quarrell with the harmless Skies
treated the hungry gods with sacrifice
Thou never wo'dst admitt a deity
A manly Atheist in thy infancy
but if the partiall gods doe yet refuse
to drown, or tempest-toss thy turne coate Muse

¹⁴ Addit. MSS. 38, 671, fols. 31-32.

and calmer gales attend thee may it be
only to drive thee to some forraigne sea
goe with thy Cortez to the Indian Shore
there be presented to the emperour
the fourth time change thy noe religion there
least to thy prince ungratefull thou appeare
for shou'd some kindness there to thee be showne
It were sin in thee not to adore the Sun
When there thou landest th'affrighted blacks will [see]
A double monster both by Ship and thee ¹⁵
But if whilst wee in vaine against thee strive
Saff[ely] to th'Irish coast thou do'st arrive
may brawny Shadwells ne're be wanting here
to pull thy sacred lawrells and thy haire,
may drubs of Colledge-green afflict thee more
then those smart blows thou in Rose-ally bore.

The other diatribe contains little to warrant printing. Atheism, impiety, apostasy are the terms it abounds in:

keen pointed verse shall stab the learn[e]d sott
give him a grave and give him hell to boot.

Conceding the erudition of Dryden and his qualification, at least upon that score, for the chair of provost, the poem raises a query concerning his new title of Doctor. Perhaps there may here be some vague reminiscence of the report already alluded to that:

A Mandate is said to be gone down to Oxford for Mr. Dryden to go out Doctor of Divinity, and also that he will be made President of Magdalen College.¹⁶

The degree would not have been inconsistently bestowed upon the author of *The Hind and the Panther* or those various controversial tracts in answer to Stillingfleet; nor, leaving aside the claims of poetry and religion, was any great injury done to his assumed designs by their composition during 1686-7. But to revert to Dublin—Granted the inevitable outcry of a few malcontents, it nevertheless seems altogether likely that Dryden might there have been favored with a better reception than at the various other colleges with which rumor connected his name, since Trinity for awhile was a notorious hot-bed of Jacobitism.¹⁷ He appears, how-

¹⁵ For these allusions, cf. Act I, sc. ii of *The Indian Emperour* (1667).

¹⁶ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Downshire, I, i, 251.

¹⁷ W. M. Dixon, *Trinity College, Dublin* (1902), p. 288.

ever, not to have been a belligerent, and may well have withdrawn his candidacy out of weariness. His misadventures in college politics were finished.

Once only, and that five years after these events, does Dryden so much as allude to his disappointment. At that time, when philosophy had to some extent assuaged his wounded feelings, he ventured a reference that, in the light of what has been discovered, seems to round out a period. Thus in 1674 at Oxford he had

wish'd, this happy seat
Might prove his fading Muse's last retreat;

and, now stripped of his ambition, in 1693 he undertook to console himself:

Why am I grown old, in seeking so barren a reward as fame? The same parts and application which have made me a poet *might have raised me to any honours of the gown, which are often given to men of as little learning and less honesty than myself.* No Government has ever been, or ever can be, wherein timeservers and blockheads will not be uppermost . . . I am not ashamed to be little, when I see them so infamously great; neither do I know why the name of poet should be dishonourable to me, if I am truly one, as I hope I am; for I will never do anything that shall dishonour it.¹⁸

ROSWELL G. HAM

Yale University

A LOST PLAY BY D'URFEY

That Thomas D'Urfey, the most prolific dramatist of the Restoration period, wrote a play (now lost) called *A Wife for Any Man*, was first noticed, I believe, by W. Barclay Squire, in his article on Jeremiah Clarke in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Squire was a scholar of great acumen, but his chief concern was with old English music. For this reason his work has sometimes been overlooked by purely literary investigators. In the case of *A Wife for Any Man*, for instance, his remarks have failed to bear fruit, and the name of the play remains unfamiliar to bibliographers and students of the Restoration drama. Squire believed that *A Wife for Any Man* was produced between 1704 and 1707, when Clarke died,

¹⁸ *Essays of John Dryden*, ed. Ker II, 1-2. Quoted from the "Dedication of Examen Poeticum." The italics are mine.

and that Clarke's incidental music ¹ is the only record of it. I am now able to date the play more accurately, and to supply further information about it.

In the first place, Squire's dates are probably a decade too late, because two songs from the play were printed as early as 1699. In *Wit and Mirth: Or Pills to Purge Melancholy* (1699),² appears for the first time a song beginning "De'll take the war that hurried Willy from me," which later acquired considerable popularity. This song is ascribed to D'Urfey in an eighteenth-century single-sheet edition,³ the title of which reads: "*A Song in a Wife for any Man the words by Mr Tho D'urfey Set to Musick by Mr Charles Powell Sung by Mrs Cross and exactly engrav'd by Tho: Cross.*" The tune here ascribed to Powell is the same as the anonymous tune in *Wit and Mirth: Or Pills to Purge Melancholy*, but does not correspond to any of Clarke's trebles in Addit. MS. 35043. Powell's tune is also used in *The Cocker's Opera* (1729), air I, *The Lover's Opera* (1729), air IX, and *The Beggar's Wedding* (1729), air XIII.

Another song from the play appears as follows in *Mercurius Musicus* (September-December, 1699):⁴

*A Song, Sung by Mrs. Cross in the Play call'd, A
Wife for any Man*

Oh all ye gods of Holy Truth,
that saw the Virtues of my Yonth [*sic*]
save a poor helpless wretched Maid,
by Love's deceitful Arts betray'd;
save, save a Poor helpless slave
a poor helpless wrteched Maid,
by Love's deceitful Arts betray'd.

Of these two songs, the first, "De'll take the war that hurried Willy from me," must have been written before the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, since it contains allusions to William III's campaigns on the continent. Now *A Wife for Any Man* is not men-

¹ The best manuscript seems to be the one in the library of the Sacred Harmonic Society (*Catalogue of the Library of the Sacred Harmonic Society*, 1872, No. 1978). There is another in the British Museum (Addit. MS. 35043, ff. 71-72), consisting of the overture and eight airs, and headed "Mr Clarkes 1st Trebles in ye Farce Called A Wife for Any Man."

² I, 294-295.

³ British Museum: G. 304(49).

⁴ Pp. 193-195.

tioned in the catalogue of D'Urfey's plays printed with the third part of *The Comical History of Don Quixote*, which was published in December, 1695.⁵ Hence it was probably written between that date and the Peace of Ryswick in September, 1697. The allusions in the titles of the two songs to Mrs. Cross, a popular young singer of the period, imply that the play was actually produced.

Some years later, on June 7, 1714, *The Richmond Heiress* was performed for D'Urfey's benefit at the Drury Lane Theatre. On this occasion, according to *The Daily Courant*,⁶ D'Urfey spoke "a new Oration by way of Prologue . . . part of it design'd for a New Comedy of his, call'd A Wife worth a Kingdom." Perhaps this was the former play refurbished by D'Urfey in an effort to have it acted again and published.

University of Delaware

CYRUS L. DAY

A POSSIBLE ORIGIN OF CONGREVE'S SAILOR BEN

Mr. Crane Taylor's statement that Ben in Congreve's *Love for Love* "enjoys the distinction of being the first complete and realistic portrayal of a sailor in English literature"¹ does not convey the whole truth so accurately as does Mr. Montague Summers's assertion that "There were scores of sailors, right from the time of the Mystery Plays, but Congreve gives us a more elaborate and closely studied picture of the honest tarpaulin than is found heretofore."² Mr. Summers points out that in Thomas D'Urfey's *Sir Barnaby Whigg* (1681) there appears the character of Porpuss, "A blunt Tarpawlin Captain, and one that uses his Sea-phrases and terms upon all occasions," and that in the same author's *The Marriage-Hater Match'd* (1691-2) there is the character of Darewell, "An honest blunt Sea Captain." Mr. Summers suggests the possibility of Congreve's taking a hint from the inferior dramatist, when he created Sailor Ben.

Another "blunt Sea-Captain" of Restoration drama is Edward

⁵ See Squire, "Purcell's Dramatic Music," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 1904, v, 518.

⁶ No. 3937, June 7, 1714. The oration is printed in *Wit and Mirth: Or Pills to Purge Melancholy*, 1719, I, 337-339.

¹ William Congreve, p. 73.

² *The Complete Works of William Congreve*, II, 81.

Ravenscroft's Durzo. Ravenscroft first introduces Durzo, as comic relief, in his tragi-comedy, *King Edgar and Alfreda* (1677), and later incorporates him into his *Canterbury Guests* (1694). In *The Sailor in English Fiction and Drama*, p. 164, Mr. H. F. Watson points out a slight resemblance between Durzo and Captain Porpuss. Since Mr. Watson appears to have met with Durzo only in *The Canterbury Guests* and seems to have no knowledge of his previous existence in *King Edgar and Alfreda*, he incorrectly implies that Ravenscroft borrowed from D'Urfey.³

Although, as Mr. Summers suggests, D'Urfey may have supplied Congreve with the hint for Sailor Ben, it appears to me more likely that Congreve's character was suggested by Durzo. As *The Canterbury Guests* was produced at the Theatre Royal less than a year before *Love for Love* was first performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields, Congreve had the opportunity of observing Ravenscroft's character while his play was taking shape in his mind. Ben is certainly a more finished product than Durzo, but he is the same type of bluff, seafaring man who speaks in nautical terms. Moreover, a remark of his to Mrs. Frail (*Love for Love*, III, iii), unquestionably echoes one of Durzo's (*Canterbury Guests*, II, ix, p. 23). Ben says: "Mess, you're a tight vessel! and well rigged, an you were but as well manned." Durzo exclaims: "Three very snug Frigats, well Rigg'd; 'twere pity too but they were as well Man'd."

Miss Kathleen Lynch has already suggested that in writing *The Way of the World* and in composing the characters of Mirabell and Millamant, Congreve may have recalled certain scenes and characters in *The Canterbury Guests* (scenes transposed by Ravenscroft from his *Careless Lovers*).⁴ It seems quite possible that Ravenscroft, not only with his *Careless* and *Hillaria*, but also with his Durzo, may have supplied some of the seeds from which grew the great comic characters of Mirabell, Millamant, and Sailor Ben.

The Johns Hopkins University

EDWARD T. NORRIS

³ Unfamiliarity with Ravenscroft's *The Careless Lovers* (1673), scenes from which the author also incorporated into *The Canterbury Guests*, has caused Mr. Watson to make similar mistakes, by implying that Ravenscroft has borrowed speeches from Mrs. Behn's *The Rover* (1677); whereas, if any indebtedness exists, it is Mrs. Behn and not Ravenscroft who is the borrower. See *The Sailor in English Fiction and Drama*, pp. 144-6.

⁴ *The Social Mode of Restoration Comedy*, pp. 162, 202, 203.

REVIEWS

Die Philosophie der Aufklärung. Von ERNST CASSIRER. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1932. xviii, 491 pages. M. 14.50.

The historians of philosophy always have neglected the period of Enlightenment because of the absence of great systems comparable to those of the seventeenth and the later eighteenth century. The most inclusive systematizer, Christian Wolff, is not original enough to be truly representative and, in his popularizing tendency often trivial enough to discredit the entire thinking of the period. Thus, the historian of eighteenth century literature had to rely mostly on the inadequate expressions of Enlightenment thought in literature and, worse, on the reaction against it in works of a later period. Even Korff who in his *Geist der Goethezeit* tries to be more just to Enlightenment, treats it too much as an antithesis to do full justice to its historical significance. This antithetic presentation also conveys too static and uniform an impression of rationalistic thinking, which as such is contradictory to the very essence of Enlightenment. Its accomplishment and function in the history of ideas can only be adequately expressed in the process of growing, since a sober and carefully progressing induction is as characteristic for the general structure of this mind as its much decried, but rarely well-defined rationalism. Reason and rationalism, vague slogans as such, assume a real meaning only when the function of reason is demonstrated for the different fields of Enlightenment thinking. This is the task of Cassirer's treatise, which was written as part of the *Grundriss der philosophischen Wissenschaften*. Reason is here exhibited as a leading principle of research, as the basic assumption that everything is subject to rational laws; but unlike in seventeenth-century philosophy these laws are not pre-established or anticipated by reason; on the contrary, they are induced from patiently accumulated facts. This gradual approach to the principles is here exposed as the principle underlying the investigations in science, psychology, epistemology, history, social sciences, and esthetics. Instead of a criticism of the results of Enlightenment thinking, the author shows how the attempt to reveal the rational principle in the world order on the one hand fulfilled an important heuristic function, but on the other led to a levelled conception of existence and subsequently brought about the change from the analytical and causal modes of thinking to an organic and integral conception especially with regard to individuality, artistic creation, and historical events. Mathematical interpretation of nature gave way to a descriptive attitude preparing the esthetic attitude of the classical period. In the field of psychology

and epistemology, the impressions are related to the function of the instinct, whereby the active energy of the perceiving subject is first introduced. Through the secularization of the content matter, faith and opining in religion are replaced in their importance and value by the moral deed, and as a consequence of this, intolerance becomes unreasonable and immoral. In the field of esthetics, a similar change of viewpoint leads from the principle of beauty to the recognition of the dynamic category of the sublime. Enlightenment philosophy is thus described and characterized as a movement from the great deductive systems of the seventeenth century to the more organic systems of the idealistic period.

In my opinion, this presentation of the philosophy of the Enlightenment period is indispensable for a literary historian of the eighteenth century, because it provides a relatively large space for the study of esthetic ideas in correlation to other fields of thinking, and because it convincingly disposes of the static and depreciative conception of Enlightenment. For the benefit of these historians, the author might have added a brief summary of the main problems and their typical treatment and development.

F. W. KAUFMANN

Smith College

Deutsche Literatur. Sammlung literarischer Kunst- und Kulturdenkmäler in Entwicklungsreihen. Reihe: Deutsche Selbstzeugnisse herausgegeben von MARIANNE BEYER-FRÖHLICH.
Band 5: *Aus dem Zeitalter der Reformation und Gegenreformation.* Leipzig: Philipp Reclam jun., 1932. Cloth, M. 9.

In a previous issue we reported on the introductory volume and the autobiographies of the period of the Thirty Years' War. The fifth volume does not introduce any of the representative characters of the Reformation movement itself—they are to be presented in the fourth volume; most of the material in this volume is taken from the writings of men who were somehow or other drawn into the turmoil of the counter-reformation.

Some of the passages touch a somewhat familiar chord as Johannes Keszler's report on his first meeting with Martin Luther, or Theophrastus Paracelsus' medical writings with their highly personal and ethical note, and Geizkofer's description of the terrors he experienced in Paris during the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's.

The selections are well balanced as far as the differences in religious opinion are concerned, there are representatives of the old faith and adherents of the Protestant creed, and—more interesting and characteristic for the inner uncertainty of this time—those who do not know what to believe: a Roman Catholic fighting against

the monks, and a Jew who successively becomes a Catholic priest and a minister of the Reformed Church.

The political unrest is reflected in the autobiography of Schertlin von Burtenbach, the mercenary general, who in a strange way combines religious faith and adventure, greed and love for his home. Hans Ulrich Krafft's account of his life as a Turkish debt prisoner reflects the capitalistic crisis in the second half of the 16th century. The unnational attitude of German princes during the Thirty Years' War is foreshadowed in the unworthy endeavor to obtain the order of the Garter at the English court by an emissary of the Duke of Württemberg; the feeble Churchism of the Hapsburgians is indirectly portrayed in the report on Ferdinand II's pilgrimage-like journey to Rome. The selections which in some parts read more like a chronicle than an autobiography, provide as a whole a vivid picture of the discord and the growing lack of aim and leadership which preceded the Thirty Years' War.

F. W. KAUFMANN

Smith College

Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart. Von Prof. Dr. FRIEDRICH VOGT und Prof. Dr. MAX KOCH. Fünfte Auflage, neubearbeitet und erweitert von Dr. Willi Koch. Erster Band. Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1934.

Die Literaturgeschichte, die im Jahre 1897 zum erstenmal erschien, wird in fünfter Auflage "völlig neubearbeitet und neu-ausgestattet" herausgegeben von Dr. Willi Koch. Soweit liegt von den geplanten drei Bänden der erste vor, der von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang des Barock reicht und im Texte Friedrich Vogts nur geringfügige Aenderungen erfahren hat. Dagegen sind die drei Kapitel, die Literatur des Barock betreffend, völlig umgearbeitet. Der Herausgeber mußte sich dabei, der Anlage des Werkes entsprechend, Beschränkungen auferlegen, da es sich um eine gemeinverständliche Darstellung handelt. Wenn er diese allerdings dahin charakterisiert, daß er auf geistesgeschichtliche Problemstellungen habe verzichten müssen, so klingt das beinahe boshaft, ist aber wohl kaum so gemeint. Jedenfalls ist entgegen der heutigen Tendenz der Ueberwertung des Barock Kochs eigne Behandlung der Periode reichlich kühl und trocken. Die außerordentlichen formalen Eroberungen eines Weckherlin, Fleming und Stieler werden nicht genügend anerkannt und ihr Hinausgehen über die Tradition, in dem sich ihre kraftvolle Eigenart kundtut, kaum angedeutet. Scheffler wird gegen Spee nicht hinreichend abgesetzt. Obwohl die beiden sich in ihren geistlichen Liedern berühren, fehlt dem

Epigrammatiker und Verdichter die eigentliche lyrische Ader und die Freude an der sinnlichen Erscheinung.

Hier und da machen die Inhaltsangaben den Eindruck, als ob sie flüchtigem Lesen entsprängen. So ist die Handlung der *Geliebten Dornrose* ungenügend charakterisiert mit den Worten: "ein Bauernbursch gewinnt das durch den Dienst in der Stadt verwöhnte Mädchen erst nach langen Verwicklungen." Der Bauer heißt übrigens Klotzmann und nicht Kletzmann, sowie in Zieglers *Banise* des Prinzen Name nicht Balakia sondern Balacin ist. Hoffentlich sind der zweite und dritte Band vom selben Verfasser etwas wärmer gehalten.

Dankenswert indessen ist die gute Bibliographie, die bis auf die neusten Erscheinungen fortgeführt ist und alles Wichtige zusammenträgt, und in der ich bei Stichproben eigentlich nur Hübshers Aufsatz über *Barock als Gestaltung antithetischen Lebensgefühls* (Euphorion 24) vermißt habe.

Die Leistung des Verlages, der diesen reich und gut illustrierten Band von 427 Seiten mit vielen farbigen eingelebten Reproduktionen in blaues Leinen sehr gut gebunden für Mk. 9.50 liefert, ist durchaus anzuerkennen.

ERNST FEISE

Strangers and Sojourners at Port Royal: Being an Account of the Connections between the British Isles and the Jansenists of France and Holland. By RUTH CLARK. Cambridge: University Press, 1932. Pp. xx + 360. \$4.75.

Miss C. has produced a work of genuine research based largely on primary documents discovered in the archives and libraries of England, Holland and France. The excuse, if excuse is needed, for this account of the connections between the British Isles and the Jansenists of France and Holland is expressed, too modestly, in her preface: "... this study does not and cannot claim to be an exhaustive history of Jansenism and Great Britain, but it does hope to have accomplished some honest spadework which may help to lay the foundation for some larger treatise, undertaken, possibly, by a theologian." And it is not of course beyond the realm of possibility that this study may serve some day as an important chapter in the hagiography of the reunited Church.

The form of presentation of the material should delight the scholarly mind. An adequate preface, a chronology, the "Five Propositions" and the "Formulary of Alexander VII" precede the text; at the end appear two appended documents, a bibliography of seventeenth and eighteenth century books connecting Jansenism and Port Royal with the British Isles, a further bibliography of authorities in three sections, manuscripts, contemporary printed

documents and modern works, and best of all a fifty-six page index, a most useful and necessary feature in a book that will be much used for reference.

The attractiveness of the volume has been overstressed rather than overlooked. The type is pleasing and the errors rare and self-correcting (faulty typesetting in the note on page 291). Seven plates adorn the pages. After subjection to the rules of American printers it is a pleasure to see "Mr" "Mrs" "Mme" "Dr" etc., appearing without the vicious period. The main title is, however, definitely misleading as well as contradictory to the descriptive subtitle. Strangers to Port Royal are discussed much more than sojourners at Port Royal. After a chapter dealing with early English sympathizers with the doctrines of Jansenius at Louvain and in England, there follow four chapters concerning British subjects "In and About Port Royal" and individuals who, living abroad, came under the influence of Port Royal and the Jansenists. The eighteenth and final chapter presents Mrs. Schimmelpenninck's sentimental pilgrimage to Port Royal des Champs in 1814. The twelve intervening chapters discuss mainly Jansenist influences and theological disputes and intrigues centering around the Sorbonne, the Papal Court at Rome and religious groups in Holland and the British Isles. Thus in the work as a whole, Port Royal is the spiritual background rather than the physical setting as suggested by the title.

At times Miss C. has been forced to deal with the tortuous and issueless bypaths of theological wrangling, "sentiers," according to Sainte-Beuve, "que le choc seul gâte et ravage, qu'il faut se hâter d'abandonner dès que la dispute nous y suit; car cela devient, au bout de dix pas, un sentier inextricable de ronces." Sainte-Beuve's criticism is directed here against the disputants and not the historians. Miss C., as scientific historian, has handled the matter with commendable moderation and impartiality. As for the style, a rather awkward use of connectives contrasts with apparent efforts to obtain literary grace. But the reviewer must confess that he would have abstained from cavil had he not been led by the attractiveness and title of the volume to expect vacation reading.

Yale University

NORMAN L. TORREY

English Burlesque Poetry, 1700-1750. By RICHMOND P. BOND.
(Harvard Studies in English, vi.) Cambridge: Harvard
University Press, 1932. Pp. xi + 483. \$3.50.

Outstanding in Mr. Bond's valuable investigation are his set of definitions for the critic of comic poetry and his register of burlesque verse. Lack of discriminating definition and adequate

bibliography have long confused and hampered discussion of English burlesque poetry. Each critic has therefore molded critical terms to suit his own thesis, and left bibliography chiefly to the meager bit accompanying Charles Whibley's essay in *CHEL*, ix, 549-552. This clear, exhaustive study has perhaps resolved the double riddle.

A vocabulary for the critic of burlesque verse, according to Mr. Bond, comprises five basic words: *burlesque*, *travesty*, *parody*, *mock-heroic*, and *Hudibrastic*. *Burlesque* ("incongruous imitation"), the generic term, is thus divided: *low burlesque* (subject above style), consisting of *travesty* as in *Scarronides*, and *Hudibrastic*; *high burlesque* (style above subject), consisting of *parody* as in *The Splendid Shilling*, and *mock-poem* as in *The Rape of the Lock*. The ramifications are best left to Mr. Bond's masterly first chapter. Those who define the humorous according to Meredith may question whether "the essence of humor lies in incongruity"; but the question is obviously open. These definitions, fortified by judicious distillation of eighteenth-century and present-day comment, permit Mr. Bond to classify and analyze critically a large body of burlesque verse. In Part I the thesis emerges that during this period travesty dwindled, parody practised its scales, and mock-poem brought "the jester Wit . . . nearer the throne of Poetry" than ever again.

The annotated register of Part II chronologically arranges the two hundred and eleven burlesque poems which Mr. Bond has found for his period, and provides them with serial numbers for easy reference. This body of verse adequately documents and substantiates the thesis already set forth. The index is full and exact. Only by the patient toil of a scholarly mind are such lists compiled, and future critics of English comic poetry owe Mr. Bond thanks no less for this excellent register than for his enlightening definitions.

About a study as satisfying as this, graced with such excellent critical discussion as appears in Chapters II, VII, VIII, and perhaps best of all Chapter III (on *The Rape of the Lock*), one hesitates to make suggestions. But surely, in discussing *The Dunciad*, Mr. Bond as a zealous collector has overstressed the importance of the *-iad* tribe to his thesis. He might have profited by the sage advice offered (*PQ.*, ix, 171) when his article on the "Progeny of *The Dunciad*" appeared. His footnote on Spence's unpublished *Charliad* (p. 166) should have included a reference to Mr. Austin Wright's researches (*Harvard Univ. . . . Summaries of Theses* . . . 1931, pp. 254-256; *PMLA.*, XLVII, 554-558). As to the "N. O." who translated the *Lutrin* in 1682, and whose identity has baffled Mr. Bond (p. 201), it should be recorded that Abraham Woodhead wrote frequently under that pseudonym. The adjective *neat* has too often worked overtime for Mr. Bond. Fur-

thermore, an unfortunate omniscience and lack of modesty permeate his pronouncements, particularly in the footnotes.

But such matters are trivial enough. To a distinguished series a famous press has added a notable study.

BRICE HARRIS

Cornell University

The Christian Hero. By RICHARD STEELE, Edited with an Introduction and a Bibliography. By RAE BLANCHARD. New York: Oxford University Press, 1932. Pp. xxix + 101. \$2.00.

Everybody knows Steele's *Christian Hero* by name, and has read, I suppose, his amusing account of how he came to write it and what its effects were; but probably more than a few have not yet read the 100-page pamphlet itself. The first three chapters recount the careers of Caesar, Cato, Brutus, and Cassius, of Jesus, and of St. Paul, Chap. iv descends "from the bright incentives of their actions to consider lower life, and talk of motives which are common to all men." Steele "will venture to assert that the two great springs of human action are Fame and Conscience." The energizing powers are our passions, and "the predominant passion gives a tincture to all our cares and pleasures"; and Steele is sure that benevolence is innate—at least in some persons; but he knows, too, that self-seeking interest sits close beside it. Interest in the booklet for us is in catching glimpses of the generation's stream of ideas flowing through the mind of Steele. After Harvey's discovery, psychology shifted its basis from humors to passions; and Steele was in that current which, from Roscommon (1684) to Pope (1730-1740), accepted the idea of the Ruling Passion. Like John Dunton, who may be taken to represent mediocrity in his time, he shared the common eagerness for books and sermons of "practical divinity." The ruling passion of the generation was to discover standards of measurements, or rules; it yearned to understand the workings of life, and longed to find the rules for living life successfully, a longing which was to contribute much to the development of the essay (including the periodical essay), the comedy filled with maxims and apothegms designated "sentiments," and the novel of average life.

Miss Blanchard has reprinted with care the *Christian Hero* from the third edition (1710), and placed in footnotes significant variant readings of the first and second editions (both of 1701). Her 20-page introduction is interesting for its analyses and history. The bibliography accounts for twenty-two editions from 1701 to 1820, with a census, pleasing to this reviewer, of course, since it

shows 16 of the 22 editions present in the Library of the University of Texas. None of the few slips from accuracy that I have noticed is worthy of individual mention. The reader may wish to note in the margin of his copy that the couplet quoted on p. 65 is lines 38-39 of the Earl of Rochester's "A Letter from Artemisa." The Oxford University Press has, as usual, made a book pleasant to hold and to read.

R. H. GRIFFITH

The University of Texas

The Works of William Burnaby. Edited by F. E. BUDD. London: Eric Partridge at the Scholartis Press, 1931. Pp. 469. 42 s.

Though his name appears correctly on his stone in Westminster Abbey, Burnaby was forgotten so soon after his early death in 1706 that Whincop, forty years later, calls him *Charles*, an error which has been repeated ever since. Mr. Budd demonstrates beyond question the identity of the playwright with the William Burnaby mentioned by Anthony à Wood as joint author of a translation of the *Satyricon* of Petronius, recently reprinted. The biographical sketch is based on the editor's own spade-work. A Londoner born, a commoner at Merton, and afterwards one of the literary loafers of the Middle Temple, Burnaby wrote a little, engaged in furious litigation with his relatives, scraped along on a slender annuity, and made almost a profession of his association with the wits who vainly tried to project Restoration London into the eighteenth century. His name was linked with a number of great names, including Congreve's and Wycherley's.

His affiliations are indeed only too clearly reflected in his plays. The world was changing around him, and the drama was changing with it; yet Burnaby persisted in playing over the old themes of the amoral comedy of manners. Mr. Budd sees him as a quasi-heroic figure, a little Ajax defying Collier's lightning; and possibly his decision to sink with Congreve rather than survive with Cibber had its gallant side. Yet Burnaby seems a little obtuse in his devotion to a genre which, as Mr. Budd acknowledges, was already archaic, and for which he appears to have had no special talent. Doubtless we all prefer Wycherley to Steele; but the good plays are more apt to be in tune with their times than not: no one will ever write a better comedy (of that kind) than *The Country Wife*; and Burnaby might have done better to recognize that fact and try his hand at something different.

While, as Mr. Summers has remarked (*TLS.*, August 6, 1931), Burnaby's plays were previously not exactly unknown to the learned world, his first editor's enthusiasm for his author is par-

donable. It echoes Professor Nicoll's, which the present writer has never been able to share. These advocates are certainly in excellent company; but does Burnaby really deserve an equal place with Farquhar? Is it not true that everything he had to offer had been done better than was in him to do it, before he began writing at all? Farquhar, on the contrary, had something new to say; a consideration more important than any amount of mere structural deftness, which many an excellent comedy of manners has been able to dispense with altogether. As for style, Burnaby is very labored; he quite lacks rhythm, imagination, and the airy wit of the Restoration masters. He is a kind of Witwoud, painfully composing, one may term it, the *mot* mathematical; for his wit finds its chief expression in comparisons, and these are not figures of speech but the most literal and heavy-handed of plain equations. In such remarks as the following we have the top of his form:

The women that talk of their honor, like the men that talk of their courage, are the people that least value it. . . . To fall in love with a woman because she has a coronet is as unpardonable as to converse with a fop because he has a fine snuffbox. . . . The world is like a ship where the inferior wretches guide the vessel, order the sails, and handle the dirty ropes, while gentlemen are the passengers that have no business but only to look on.

With far more warrant than Millamant we exclaim, "Truce with your similitudes!"

Mr. Budd's editing is careful: his introduction, loaded as it is with documentary evidence, he keeps amusing; his notes are informing and his texts accurate. A hasty collation of a considerable portion of his text of *The Lady's Visiting-Day* with a copy of the Quarto of 1701 revealed but one error: under *Dramatis Personae* (p. 198) the name of the actress Mrs. Martin should be attached to the character, not of Lady Drawle, but of Lady Sobmuch. The publisher, however, deserves a scolding for not supplying running heads to the pages.

Besides the plays, the editor includes four short poems, four epilogues, and a critical essay on the rules for comedy and tragedy, omitting only *The Satyr*. The essay contains a provocative statement, to which Mr. Budd makes no allusion. "I say the less [about comedy]," the writer declares, "because I never bestow'd much Thought upon that sort of Poem, my Taste, Genius, and Inclinations leading me to Tragedy"—a curious remark (whatever the date of the essay) for the author of four comedies, and no tragedies at all. Since, though it seems likely that Burnaby is the "W. B." who signs the essay, Mr. Budd is not able to offer conclusive evidence, two alternatives seem possible: either the Burnaby canon should be purged of this item, or we must grant that he was after all a pretty shrewd judge of his own capacity.

But disagreement with the editor's critical estimates must not

be allowed to obscure the really useful aspects of his work; for these plays have hitherto been available only in the original quartos. More reprinting of the minor dramatists of the Restoration and early eighteenth century is among the prime desiderata. Mr. Budd is heartily to be congratulated on his contribution.

HAZELTON SPENCER

Emerson Today. By BLISS PERRY. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1931. Pp. 141. \$2.00.

Professor Perry writes in that genteel tradition which for several decades has been at once among the chiefest ornaments and the heaviest liabilities of New England letters. How refreshing, in this raucous era, this age of advertisement and salesmanship, to find a chapter on the granite side of Emerson winding up with a tribute to his quality as a gentleman. Yet what a pity that these lectures, originally delivered at Princeton, should be still withheld from the arena of more widely public controversy. For here is some of the best writing on Emerson in all the vast "literature" of the subject. And the Philistines, though with an exquisite grace and a charming humor, are laid so very low that one must lament, considering how in every hundred readers of the superficial strictures of Mr. Adams and Professor Michaud scarcely one is likely to see the pages of Mr. Perry, who writes, in the first place, out of a scholar's knowledge of the man and his works, and, in the second, with complete understanding of the New England temper that produced him.

Indeed, this little book cuts away the ground from under, not only Mr. James Truslow Adams's extraordinarily ill-informed *Atlantic* paper, but also a great deal of his writing since he laid what once appeared to be a solid foundation for a great career, in his original studies of early New England.

In the first place, the whole of our national inexperience, illustrated by the personal inexperience of Ralph Waldo Emerson, is a myth. His ancestors migrated to America three hundred years ago. They were competent Englishmen, with the experiences of many centuries of civilization behind them. They brought with them long-tested institutions, and they had the resourcefulness to frame new institutions as these were needed. To imagine John Smith and John Winthrop and William Bradford as novices in human society is amusing. Neither were Franklin and Washington and Jefferson precisely babes in the woods. Mr. James Truslow Adams's admirable volumes on New England history reveal that an unworshipful idealism was by no means the only stock-in-trade of the colonists. The legend of "a pure America" before 1830 was exploded by Henry Adams in his monumental *History of the United States in Jefferson's Administration*. The era in which Emerson grew to manhood,—the period of Jackson and John Quincy Adams and Clay and Van Buren,—while simple

enough compared with ours in its economics and its manners, was far from being a simple-minded epoch. It was a turbulent, caustic, questioning, many-sided period. "Men were born," it was said, "with knives in their brains." To say that Emerson never suffered is to be strangely ignorant of his biography; to rebut the charge that America never suffered one has only to look at the face of Lincoln. More than half of the able-bodied men of Vermont volunteered for the Civil War. Virginia made an even heavier sacrifice. . . . Emerson's optimism is the optimism that would if possible transcend evil rather than merely deny its existence; it is an endeavor to find "some soul of goodness in things evil, would men observingly distil it out."

"I will not obey it, by God!" It was a federal law of which Emerson was speaking. Despite such spectacles as a book-censored Boston, a *Strange Interlude* moved down (of all places) to Quincy, or a book-buying public that makes a best-seller out of Mr. Robinson, listens gravely to lectures by the author of "The Waste Land," but could only gasp when Mr. Masters in last July's *Mercury* called Lindsay's best work "the largest body of inspired lyricism which any American has contributed to literature," "I will not, by God," remains part of the heritage of the Massachusetts stock—a fact obscured for some recent writers on Emerson partly by the phenomena just mentioned, and partly by the prevailing misunderstanding, not so much of what our Puritan forefathers were trying to do, as of who they were.

Mr. Perry's scope and objective are accurately suggested by the title of his book. It is not merely another descriptive treatise. Ultimately, as its influence seeps out through the university teachers who read it, it should do much to further a less impeded reception of Emerson as a force in contemporary culture.

HAZELTON SPENCER

The Life of Joseph Wright. By ELIZABETH MARY WRIGHT. New York: Oxford University Press, 1932. Vol. I, pp. xii + 348; vol. II, pp. 349-710. \$7.50.

The biography of the late Professor Wright which his wife has given us must be judged, not as a work of art but as a contribution to the history of linguistic scholarship in England. So judged, it is a book of some importance. Its author, herself an Anglicist of parts, has of course had the best of opportunities to learn whereof she speaks, and her work will long stand, I think, as a valuable source of information about a significant period in the intellectual life of man. But the *Life* has other values too. As a human document it is revealing and moving. Mrs. Wright, though not a literary artist, has nevertheless succeeded in sweeping one reader, at least, off his feet, and surely there will be few to read without sharing the author's simple pride and joy and sorrow. The

vitality of the *Life*, in sum, grows out of the fact that it is a labor of love. As such, it has the defects of its qualities, needless to say. The author takes pains to be accurate, and she has printed masses of original documents of all descriptions, but a critical attitude toward her subject, and toward her vast collections of "source-material," is almost wholly wanting. The *Life* is therefore much longer than it need have been, and many a would-be reader, I fear, will be frightened off. And yet one may doubt whether Mrs. Wright could have got her effect had she tried to be critical. As it stands, the work is rugged but heroic. It makes Wright live. And what more can we ask for?

KEMP MALONE

The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry. With Introductory Chapters by R. W. CHAMBERS, MAX FÖRSTER and ROBIN FLOWER. Printed and published for the Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral by Percy Lund, Humphries & Co., Ltd. Pp. 94 + plates 264. London, 1933. Ten guineas.

A facsimile edition of the *Exeter Book* has for many years been a crying need, but it is perhaps as well that the preparation of such an edition was so long delayed, for earlier philological scholarship, competent and devoted though it undoubtedly was, could not command the technical facilities now available to the editor, nor had paleography, even in the first two decades of the present century, attained its present standards of precision in classifying and dating the records of the early Middle Ages. The present edition has profited in particular by the use of ultra-violet rays, in the capable hands of Professor E. N. da C. Andrade (among others); apparatus of this sort, we may hope, will soon be used to help us in reading the damaged folios of other OE. codices as well, not yet submitted to the ultra-violet process.

The introductory chapters of the volume are seven in number. Mr. Chambers wrote two: a general account of the MS. and its donor, and a history of "modern study of the poetry of the *Exeter Book*." Mr. Förster wrote three: (1) an account of "the donations of Leofric to Exeter"; (2) a discussion of "the preliminary matter of the *Exeter Book*"; and (3) a description of the MS. Mr. Flower wrote one: on "the script of the *Exeter Book*." Mr. Chambers and Mr. Flower together contributed a chapter on the "transcription of the damaged passages in the *Exeter Book*." All these introductory chapters stand on a very high level of philological scholarship, as the names of their authors would indicate. Moreover, the collotype photography has been done so beautifully that another facsimile edition of the MS. will hardly be needed

within any foreseeable time. In short, we have here a volume which it would be hard for a reviewer to praise too highly. The Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral have won the gratitude of all Saxonists by their generosity in giving to the world so noble a book, and by their wisdom in entrusting to such competent hands the task of its preparation. The facsimile edition which they have published will always be reckoned indispensable in any anglistic library worthy of the name, and among medievalists generally the volume will be greeted with a quiet but deep satisfaction that one of the few great old manuscripts of the tenth century has now been reproduced in a form worthy of its distinction.

KEMP MALONE

The Growth of Literature. By H. M. and N. K. CHADWICK: Vol. I, *The Ancient Literatures of Europe*. Cambridge (Macmillan), 1932. Pp. xx + 672.

In the volume under review Mr. and Mrs. Chadwick give us the first instalment of a monumental survey of oral tradition. The survey as a whole is concerned with such literary material as may be reckoned of oral rather than written composition (even though known to us in written form only). The authors plan to exclude all works properly described as writings, i. e. composed in periods when it was usual to make literary records. They deal, therefore, with speakings alone (to coin a badly needed term). Their first volume takes up the speakings of Greek, Germanic and Celtic origin; their second will consider the Russian and Yugoslavic speakings; their third, those of "a selected number of representative non-European literatures" (p. 5); they will conclude with a volume in which they will try "to formulate some general principles in regard to the history of literature" (*loc. cit.*).

Vol. I, in spite of its title, treats of Germanic and Celtic as well as Greek speakings; in other words, the authors use *ancient* in its etymological sense, without particular reference to classical antiquity. More precisely, *ancient* here seems to mean 'pre-scribal' or something of the sort, and the Chadwicks would not classify Herodotus (for example) as an ancient author. On the other hand, the term *old* is avoided: such familiar terms as *Old English*, *Old Irish*, *Old Welsh*, *Old Norse*, *Old Icelandic*, *Old High German* do not appear. Instead, one finds a simple *English*, *Irish* etc., although *Anglo-Saxon* is used a good deal, apparently as a synonym of *English*. The term *English* itself is once limited to the 'ancient' period (p. 3 bottom); the succeeding periods, since they were cosmopolitan (p. ix bottom), presumably have, in strictness, no right to the English name. While all this is logical enough, and may even be sympathetic, in some sort, to a confirmed Saxonist

like the present reviewer, the break with ordinary usage makes difficulties for the reader and, on the whole, one must reckon the terminology unfortunate. It would have been better to make up new terms for the new meanings. These might have looked strange, indeed, but they would at any rate (like *speaking*) have had no previous history and the waters would have remained clear.

In theory the distinction between speakings and writings is easy enough; in practice, it is often exceedingly difficult. Thus, the Chadwicks include under speakings such works as the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey* and *Beowulf*, in spite of current critical opinion; one finds their arguments for the classification shrewd but hardly convincing. The permanent value of the work under review is to be found, not in the literary theories set forth by the authors, but in the literary material which they have brought together and catalogued. Their systematic comparison of the literary remains of early Greek, Germanic and Celtic civilization puts cheek by jowl many things kept far apart in most histories of literature, and time and again these juxtapositions turn out to be highly enlightening. In an earlier work, *The Heroic Age* (1912), one of the authors had already tried to do something of the sort, but the present series is much more inclusive and more ambitious generally. May the authors find time and strength to complete their great undertaking, so worthily begun!

KEMP MALONE

BRIEF MENTION

The Idea of Union in American Verse (1776-1876). By DOROTHY LEEDS WERNER. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932. Pp. 180. Miss Werner's dissertation consists of a miscellaneous collection of over 700 references to the union taken from American verse and roughly grouped, with some elementary comment, according to the attitude expressed. It is in no sense a study of the *idea* of union. For example, Whitman is represented only by two passing references to "O Captain! My Captain!" His attempt to show the "real Union, and how it may be accomplish'd" (in "Thou Mother with thy Equal Brood" and elsewhere) is ignored. Even as a collection it suffers from serious omissions. William Gilmore Simms and Henry Timrod are well-known poets who go unconsidered, and, indeed, the section dealing with "The Attack on the Union" fails to suggest that any southern poet ever questioned the sacredness of national unity. Periodical verse does not come within the scope nor regional anthologies within the accomplishment of the collection. The volume has a painstaking bibliography and index and should prove a serviceable,

if somewhat inadequate, guide for any one undertaking a more pointed study of the subject.

Pomona College

LEON HOWARD

Le Journal des Savants et la Renommée de Pope en France au XVIII^e Siècle. By JACQUELINE DE LA HARPE. University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Volume 16, pp. 173-216. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1933. Notices and articles concerning Pope appeared in the *Journal des Savants* from 1717 to 1786, and the author of this little brochure has extracted from them some very interesting generalizations regarding the French reception of Pope's work. The editors of the *Journal*, however, as she notes, were chiefly interested in the more philosophical works of Pope, and paid no attention to such poems as *The Rape of the Lock* and *Windsor Forest*, the popularity of which is attested to by many editions of their French translations.

University of Michigan

LOUIS I. BREDVOLD

The Songs of John Dryden. Edited by CYRUS LAWRENCE DAY. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932. Pp. xvi + 199. \$2.50. Dryden's lyrical gifts have long been recognized, but his songs have nevertheless, curiously enough, received little attention, either from the general reader or the scholar. This beautifully printed volume aims particularly to exploit their musical value. It contains twenty-five facsimiles of the original airs, which are especially welcome, and gives extensive notes on such things as musical settings, appearances of the songs in miscellanies and song-books, imitations, and other related matters. The book is a valuable addition to the Dryden shelf.

University of Michigan

LOUIS I. BREDVOLD

L'Angleterre et la Littérature anglaise dans les Trois Plus Anciens Périodiques français de Hollande de 1684 à 1709. By H. J. REESINK. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1931. Pp. 433. The early French periodicals of Holland served as the medium of diffusion of English thought in Holland and France. Reesink's study of this aspect of their work is therefore an important contribution to the intellectual history of the eighteenth century. An analytical index to the reviews of English works in the three periodicals, adds greatly to the usefulness of the volume.

University of Michigan

LOUIS I. BREDVOLD

Histoire de la Civilisation française des origines à nos jours. Par CH.-M. DES GRANGES et OLIVER TOWLES. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1933. Pp. xxi + 473. \$2.75. A useful résumé of the main events in French political, military, social, industrial, literary, and artistic history, profusely illustrated, clear, and concise, the book has only a few misprints and is attractively presented to the public. Doubtless every scholar who examines it will find fault with one of its many sides—I should like, for instance, to discover some mention of Villon, Scarron, and Prévost, more than a passing remark about Calvin, d'Aubigné, and Diderot, a more accurate account of French seventeenth-century troupes than that found on p. 211, and the deletion of the statement that the "peuple proprement dit" did not go to the leading theaters (p. 212),—but the authors have had a difficult task, with so much to say in such brief space, and should be commended for including so many facts and opinions rather than criticized for occasional omissions or incomplete references. A satisfactory glossary is added to explain unusual terms; an index would have made the book still more useful.

H. C. L.

Literary Sessions. By ERIC PARTRIDGE. London: The Scholaris Press, 1932. Pp. x + 201. 7s. 6d. net. A group of fifteen essays, five on medical literature, five on minor writers of the nineteenth century (Corry, Robert Landor, Horne, Mrs. Clive, Ambrose Bierce), five on general subjects (fiction and public taste, etc.). All are thoughtful and readable.

THOMAS M. RAYSOR

University of Nebraska

The Works of Thomas Otway: Plays, Poems, and Love-Letters. Edited by J. C. GHOSH. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1932. 2 vols., pp. xii + 520; 542. 42s. This is valuable accession to the noble line of Oxford Press editions of the old dramatists. Mr. Ghosh has done his work crisply and authoritatively. The introduction, on the life and works, is both stimulating and sound. The texts are easily the best ever printed. Collation of a scattering of pages with copies of the original quartos revealed but a single error: Mr. Ghosh omits a period (I, 277) at the end of II, i, 242, of *Titus and Berenice*. It is of course quite possible that it failed to show in the two copies of the Quarto of 1677 which he examined. The commentary is excellent as far as it goes; it is not voluminous. About the only controversial aspect of Mr. Ghosh's labors is his definition of the canon: not even the appearance of a "definitive" edition will terminate discussion of that. The present writer shares

the scepticism of the anonymous reviewer of the *London Times* (*TLS.*, March 17, 1932) regarding Otway's authorship of the agonized letters to Mrs. Barry. Though he rightly decides not to withhold them from the reader, Mr. Ghosh ignores the question of their authenticity, despite the doubt he had previously expressed (*Notes and Queries*, 12th Series, XII, 103 ff.) as to Mrs. Barry's identity as the recipient. (See also R. G. Ham's *Otway and Lee*, pp. 82-83, 181-183, and his reply to Mr. Ghosh, *Notes and Queries*, CXLIX, 165-167.)

H. S.

A Bibliographical Guide to Old English, . . . compiled by ARTHUR H. HEUSINKVELD and EDWIN J. BASHE. Iowa City, 1931. Pp. 153. This useful book appears as Vol. IV, No. 5 of the *Humanistic Studies* published by the University of Iowa. The compilers in their subtitle describe their work as "a selective bibliography," and as such it must be judged. Opinions will naturally differ when it comes to the inclusion and exclusion of this or that in any compilation of this kind, but on the whole it may be said that the *Guide* is a distinct contribution to the apparatus needed for the convenient pursuit of OE studies.

K. M.

Die Vercelli-Homilien, zum ersten Male herausgegeben von MAX FÖRSTER. 1. Hälfte. Hamburg (Henri Grand), 1932. Pp. viii + 160. RM. 20. This half-volume is the first *heft* of the twelfth volume of the Grein-Wülker *Bibliothek der ags. Prosa*, now being continued under the editorship of Hans Hecht. The editor of the present volume is of all men the one most competent to undertake the task, and one is not surprised to find the *heft* under review a model piece of work. All Anglicists will await with impatience the completion of the volume.

K. M.

The Vercelli Book, edited by GEORGE PHILIP KRAPP. New York, 1932. Pp. xciv + 152. \$3.50. *The Paris Psalter and the Meters of Boethius*, edited by GEORGE PHILIP KRAPP. New York, 1932. Pp. lvi + 239. \$4.00. We have here Vols. II and V of the new *corpus* of OE poetical writings which the Columbia University Press is getting out. Volume I, devoted to the Junius Codex, has already been given notice in this journal. The two volumes under review carry forward Mr. Krapp's worthy undertaking along the same lines, and may heartily be commended.

K. M.

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